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ABSTRACT

A series of articles comprises the history of labor activism from the 17th century to the present. Most of the information characterizes labor in the United States, although vignettes of labor activity in Canada and Europe are also included. The purpose of the document is to transmit to young workers an understanding of the hopes, bitterness, defeats, and triumphs of the people who participated in the labor movement. Events described include workers' rebellions in colonial Virginia, trials of union leaders in the 19th century, organization of the first labor movement in Philadelphia in the early 19th century, strikes, the Haymarket Square bombing in Chicago in 1886, and creation of major unions such as the IWW, AFL, and CIO. The descriptions of these events stress problems of child labor, labor politics, government opposition to labor organization, working conditions, working hours, labor/management relations, and collective bargaining. A final section presents a brief overview of labor history and concludes that unionism should be regarded as a noble cause dedicated to human dignity and brotherhood. (DE)

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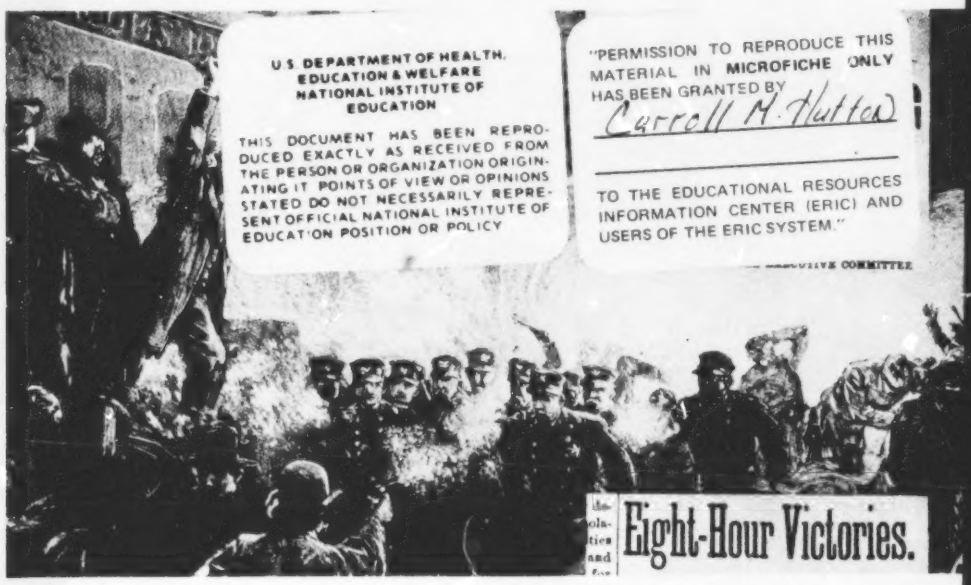

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A Chronicle of Labor's Struggle for Social Justice

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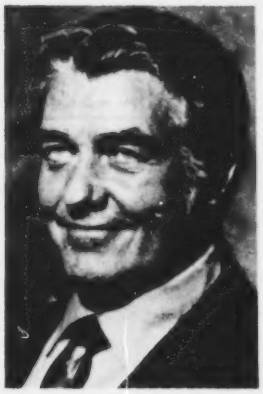
WHY WE NEED TO TELL THE STORY



Hutton

As UAW this year celebrates its 40th anniversary, our union, our society, and our world more than ever before face unique and unprecedented challenges—but with new tools never before available to mankind.

The compelling need for these new tools is dramatically pointed out by former RCA Board Chairman David Sarnoff, who predicted that there will be more changes in the next 25 years—by the year 2000—than in all man's previously recorded history.

For the first time mankind can literally do anything he wants and choose his own destiny.

H. G. Wells, famed British novelist, put the choice simply but dramatically long before the electronic-atomic age was ushered in. "Civilization is a race between education and catastrophe," said Wells.

In the UAW, labor education is as old as our union itself. Since UAW was organized to bring industrial democracy and justice on the job to millions of workers in shops in the United States and Canada, labor education has played a vital role in generating membership understanding of the issues we face, and of training leadership to meet the challenges.

Today, more than ever before, labor education is an indispensable tool for labor leadership to cope with the knowledge explosion that continues in our society, and with the changes taking place in our cities where most of our population now lives.

We believe that labor education is an essential key to determining whether or not the labor movement will flourish or flounder in the next few years.

Sharp upheavals in our society are having continued impact on the UAW, as are the changes caused by a new and younger generation moving into the work force.

We find that the coming generation is being starved, or misled, or both, in many of our nation's schools and universities when it comes to the kind of teaching they get about unions.

This is a particularly serious situation because fewer and fewer of these young people are getting the kind of direct personal experience with unions that would enable them to counteract the anti-union propaganda they are fed.

The real strength of the UAW remains, as always, in an aware and united membership in the local unions where their leaders are skilled in their many jobs. The task of educating the growing percentage of younger people in the UAW presents both a challenge and an opportunity which we cannot ignore as we enter the new year.

It is hoped that this booklet will help us to unionize the young workers we have organized—to unionize them by conveying something of the fire and fight, the bitterness and hopes, the defeats and triumphs of the men and women who made the history as stated in this story.

Carroll M Hutton

Carroll m. Hutton, **Director**
UAW Education Department

They Fought for Democracy

Gov. Sir William Berkeley lumbered hastily down to the green before the State House. He glanced angrily at the unkempt rebel army in their ragged homespun. He puffed up to their leader, 29-year-old Nathaniel Bacon, whose long black hair was nearly covered by his large plumed hat. Bacon cut a striking figure with his long sword, silk coat, and high hip boots.

"Shoot me!" demanded the Governor, throwing open his coat and bearing his breast.

"Nay," replied Bacon good-naturedly. "We will not harm a hair on your honor's head." But his eyes narrowed as he watched the windows of the State House where Virginia's legislature was meeting.

At a signal his men cocked their fusils and aimed them at those windows. "You burgesses," cried Bacon, "we expect a speedy result."

This is how liberal democracy came to Virginia, if only for less than a year. A revolutionary army of the poor, led by the youthful aristocraft Bacon, dreamed of social reform and an end to oppression. Nathaniel Bacon dreamed of independence from the British king with a free capital in Roanoke. The year was 1676, one hundred years before the American Revolution.

Virginia's farmers and laborers had not always been haunted by the extreme poverty and injustice which drives workers to revolution.

There was a good life to be gained in the colony, and Europeans would sign away part of their lives by becoming indentured servants to get passage to the New World.

Not that the voyage to America was pleasant. Children seldom lived to reach shore. Deaths were common. There was little to choose between ships squeezing the whites together like compressed sardines, and the slaves with their black human cargoes. Nor was there much initial difference between white and black worker once they landed. The white was slave by choice and knew he or she would gain eventual freedom; the black had no hope.

Once the terms of the indentured servant's agreement ran out, the servant was free to work for wages. He or she might work as a field hand on a tobacco plantation or as a skilled artisan fashioning boots or furniture. Eventually, the servant would set out on his or her own into the frontier to hack out a farm in the wilderness. In Virginia, he or she would raise tobacco, a crop so valuable it was used as money.

But King Charles, catering to English merchants who wanted to exploit the colony, agreed to a Navigation Act in 1660 which forced colonists to buy dear and sell cheap. The greed of English merchants threw Virginia into a great depression. Trade with the Dutch was stopped and colonists, now completely at English mercy, were forced to sell their produce for practically nothing.

The poor multiplied and, as if this weren't bad enough, tax collectors lined their own pockets with what little the poor had left. The Charles City Commons said they were taxed beyond endurance by corrupt officials.

KING CHARLES' policies threw Virginia into a great depression.

Gov. Berkeley stood loyal to his appointees. He believed in the devine right of kings and also of governors. He prohibited education and printing because they created "heresy." He decided he did not like elections and therefore abolished them. And he so wanted more wealth that he sold guns, ball and powder to the Indians who, in 1676, massacred more whites than at any previous time in history.

Berkeley prohibited the whites taking arms to defend themselves because he was not certain which way they would point their fusils.

Nathaniel Bacon, an aristocrat sitting in the Governor's cabinet, watched these goings on in glum silence. Every day he saw some new outrages committed by his fellow aristocrats whom he finally likened to "sponges sucking up the public treasury." He was finished with them.

The Indians kept advancing and the poor formed an army to meet the invasion. They begged the dashing Bacon to be their leader. He warned them they would probably all hang as traitors. They swore to be true to him and to each other. Bacon led them to a stunning victory over the Indians.

When Bacon and his "tag, rag, and bobtail," as the aristocrats first call them, came back as victors, Gov. Berkeley panicked and called for an election. Bacon ran as delegate and was elected to the legislature. Upon his arrival in Jamestown, he was publicly forgiven by the governor and privately held virtual prisoner.

Sir William now moved quickly to control the new legislature. Bacon escaped and formed an army. He returned to Jamestown to replace the despotism with a liberal democracy.

The vote was extended. For the first time in American history, working people had a government acting in their interest. Corruption and special privilege were ended. Favoritism was abolished. Taxes became fair. And Bacon, now satisfied Virginia had become democratic, marched his army off to campaign against the Indians.

Gov. Berkeley now formed a loyalist army of professional soldiers and sailors and wealthy cavaliers. He reoccupied Jamestown.

Bacon came upon him with his exhausted men. He seized the wives of the aristocrats and made a petticoat wall of them by putting the ladies in front of his fortifications until the breastworks were finished. Enraged husbands swore they would kill every rebel for this insult.

The overpowering army of the Crown, led by brightly-dressed cavaliers on horse and backed by red-coated professional soldiers, marched forth to crush the rebellion.

Bacon waited until they were upon his outnumbered force. Then the rebels fired. The army of the Crown collapsed as if hit by a telling blow to the stomach. They scattered; those still able ran.

The rebels entered Jamestown only to hear that another great loyalist army was bearing down upon them. Bacon ordered the capital burned. He ordered his fatigued men to charge. The loyalists fled. Bacon was complete master of Virginia. And at this point he died of dysentery.

With their leader dead, the rebels, now drunk with victory, forgot their social cause. They began to plunder. The soldiers took over and forced the idealists to flee. Gradually, the Governor won; and when he did, he hanged every rebel he could find. He would subject the rebels to torture, abuse, and finally execution. His young, pretty wife kept screaming for even more blood. Virginia's brief flirtation with freedom and social justice was gone.

But the rebellion had shown that people with a mission could defeat the best of professional soldiers. For the first time, Americans had struck a hefty blow against tyranny. Too, the rebellion established an American political pattern where the working people and liberals would make their major fight one of expanding democracy.

And these first organized American workers were fighting for something more precious than wages or working conditions.

They called it "freedom."

They Made It a Crime to Form a Union

The only vaguely dramatic event at the trial was when spectator John Alcorn remarked that "a scab is a shelter for lice."

For disturbing the dignity of the court, he was fined $10 and given a place in history for this first recorded American definition of the word.

The eight union leaders on trial for the crime of a "combination and conspiracy to raise their wages" would be convicted and fined $8 each. And yet such small goings on became the famous Cordwainers' case of 1806, a trial that would determine the future of labor-management relations for years to come.

A cordwainer is a shoemaker, and in Philadelphia members of the craft union had called a "turnout" as strikes were then called. They were protesting a shoe employers' association price cut of boots from $2.75 to $2.50.

While it may have seemed like small potatoes to the unsophisticated, this was hardly the case. For looming large in the background was a great political struggle between liberal Jeffersonian Democrats and conservative Hamiltonian Federalists.

Conservatives were bitter over Thomas Jefferson's election to the presidency. The election had hinged on New York City where workingmen, a newspaper accused, had the audacity to vote against "men of character, of sense and of property." Jefferson had the presidency but the Federalists still had the courts, and they were determined to smash workingmen's organizations once and for all.

English Common Law held that a combination of workers to improve their conditions was a "conspiracy," for "economic truth" held that unions interfered with the natural law of supply and demand. High wages, the prosecution argued, meant high prices, a phrase still heard today. The jury was convinced and it found the union leaders guilty of criminal conspiracy. This had the effect of presumably outlawing all effective unions.

Unions would continue to remain illegal until 1842, when the Massachusetts Supreme Court in Commonwealth v. Hunt said the doctrine of criminal conspiracy did not apply if unions did not use illegal means to achieve their ends. And incidentally, the court approved of the closed shop for workers because doctors and lawyers had it. Taft-Hartley's closed shop ban took labor law back into time well over one hundred years.

Thus the Cordwainers' case of 1806 had struck a blow against the American worker, and the worker wondered what had ever become of the ideals of the American Revolution.

Working people had been kicked around mercilessly before the Revolution. A Massachusetts law of 1651 declared "our utter detestation and dislike that men and women of mean condition should take upon themselves the garb of gentlemen." Workers and their spouses were fined ten shillings for wearing lace, gold or silver buttons, silk hoods or scarves. Such laws convinced workers that they would be better off without the British and their conservative Tory supporters.

By 1770, workers had taken over Boston town meetings. In New York City, the Committee of Mechanics openly agitated for revolution.

The first Continental Congress met at Carpenters Hall in Philadelphia. One might say that our nation was born in a union hall.

It was the leader of Boston's West End Caucus, a revolutionary workers' political action committee, who spread the alarm that the Redcoats were coming. He was the silversmith, Paul Revere.

The working people of America fought and suffered and died to make their country free.

But the "freedom" which came with victory was hardly the freedom they had dreamed about. Conservatives, led by the brilliant political tactician Alexander Hamilton, began to take over the states. In the North, only Rhode Island remained in democratic hands. The word "democratic" meant the same to Federalists as "seditious," "anarchistic" or "jacobin." Alexander Hamilton explained that "Democracy always evolves into tyranny."

With conservative governments, came corrupt tax collectors who preyed upon the poor. In Massachusetts, debtors revolted under Daniel Shays, but they were put down by the militaristic, ultra-conservative Order of the Cincinnati.

Defeated on the field of battle, small farmers and Boston workers took to the ballot and they elected John Hancock governor. This is the first recorded instance of labor's political action, and it predates unions as primarily economic forces.

The election of men like Hancock and Jefferson made the Federalists determined to crush organized action of the workingman. In 1806, they thought they had settled the labor problem once and for all.

First Labor Party Gave America Public Education

There was no doubt that the battle would be a bitter one. The clash was over tax-supported education, and the Rhode Island Legislature said it would keep such a wild idea out of the state at bayonet point if necessary.

A wealthy conservative from Indiana asked why he should pay taxes for the schooling of people "who are better suited to their station without it." What the common person needed was more work to keep from thinking up mischievous schemes against his or her betters.

To many people of property, universal public education was the first step to socialism. For look who the champions of education were! They included the danerously idealistic educator, Horace Mann, who wanted schoolteachers "to reform the world." He and his liberal friends were allied with the first labor party in the history of the world. The battle lines were drawn and the fight began.

Since 1806, unions had been outlawed as criminal conspiracies; but the court's decision only made labor more determined than ever to build unions and to change the law, the courts and society.

The first American labor movement began in 1827, when Philadelphia unions gathered under a single banner to fight for the ten-hour day. They called their federation the Mechanics Union of Trade Assemblies.

A movement moves toward a goal, but these shrewd fathers of modern unionism soon changed this bread and butter goal to that of a labor party. The year was 1828. They changed the goal from the ten-hour day to that of free public education, abolition of imprisonment for debt, mechanics lien laws, and other reforms best accomplished through political action.

The "Workies," as labor's enemies contemptuously called these heralds of Jacksonian democracy, fought hard and well to win many benefits Americans take for granted today.

Certainly the ten-hour day was a worthwhile goal. With an expansion of markets and the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution, competition among employers increased.

Gone were the leisurely man-to-man relations between master and his apprentice. Competition forced prices down and wages soon fell. There was brisk scrambling for markets, which meant businessmen had to increase their capital and lower prices. Wages kept falling and hours lengthened.

Mass production made its appearance. Clothes could be bought ready-made at a lower cost than those personally tailored. The skilled worker began to give way to the industrial worker.

This was the era of the "Merchant Capitalist," who was acclaimed by everyone except his employes.

Capitalism was magnificent for this particular expanding American economy, because it encouraged free-wheeling enterprise, lower prices through competition, much greater economic efficiency, creative inventiveness and huge expansion of goods and services.

But in capitalism's wake, there were unendurably long working hours, unscrupulous exploitation of human beings, calloused use of child labor, and virtual "wage slavery" for thousands.

Working hours in Philadelphia began at 5:00 a.m. and ended at 7:30 p.m. Boston master carpenters opposed the ten-hour day because these employers said it would have an "unhappy influence on the young." Longer hours, they insisted, would teach children "industrious habits."

Almost immediately, the struggle for the ten-hour day became linked with the need for education. For how could workingpeople conduct a successful battle if they were illiterate?

In Pennsylvania, for example, over half the children in the state had never been inside a school. In 1834, over 1,250,000 Ameri-

can children could not read nor write.

Rough-hewn men, weak in spelling but strong in wisdom, formed Workingmen's Associations in every state. Their battle cry was: "Equal Universal Education."

By 1830, they were winning a number of impressive victories, for the Labor Party had been smart enough to see the vacuum left by a Democratic Party going soft and conservative. Reformers and men of a liberal turn of mind from all walks of life were voting Labor, and the shock of this sight finally awakened the Democrats into adopting much of Labor's platform.

One plank was abolition of imprisonment for debt. A woman owing $3.60 was thrown into jail; leaving two small children to shift for themselves. Half of the 75,000 people in debtors' prisons owed less than $25, and a sizable quantity owed less than one dollar.

If you were unlucky enough to owe someone money in New Jersey and you went to debtors' prison, it is doubtful whether you would have lasted the winter. Few provisions were made to feed you, bed you, or keep you warm.

Labor also abolished the militia system of compulsory military training. The rich paid small fines and left the soldiering to the perturbed poor.

Still another reform was the Mechanic's Lien Law which gave employes first claim on wages due them from a bankrupt employer.

Tax-supported free public education and the other reforms were quite an achievement for unionists who were declared illegal by the courts, and who were unskilled in letters or the arts of political war. And while their Labor Party idea would never be successful over the long haul in the United States, they helped to inspire the British and other Europeans to form their own powerful labor parties.

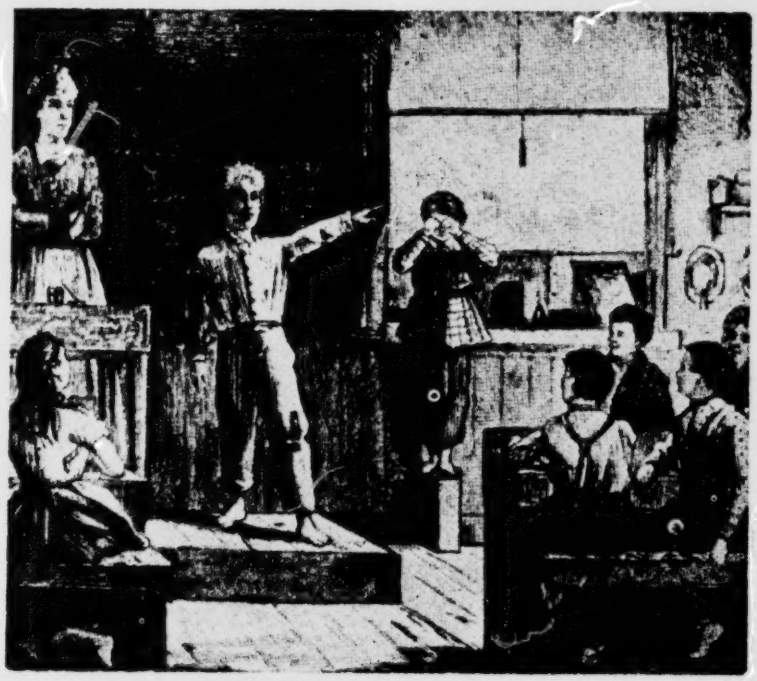
Truly, this was one of labor's finest hours. Here both workers' education and the labor press roared into being. Masses of working people attended lyceum lectures at which the greatest names in America spoke. The philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson was impressed by these earnest workers who eagerly drank up the waters from the fountain of knowledge.

"Labor," just like the British Labour Party of today, included many varieties of people from all walks of life. Labor was a proud word and people liked to be associated with it. This was the initial strength and one of the eventual weaknesses of the cause.

The troops of reform began to argue among themselves. In what direction should the cause go? Should it be bread-and-butter? Should it go backward to the old guild system? Should it be based upon Christian communism? Jeffersonian anarchism? Free enterprise? Utopian socialism? They split into rival groups and they kept fighting until the depression of 1837 finished this energetic and promising labor movement. Workers began competing against each other for jobs, and no union was able to withstand such competition. Again the future of the American worker looked hopeless.

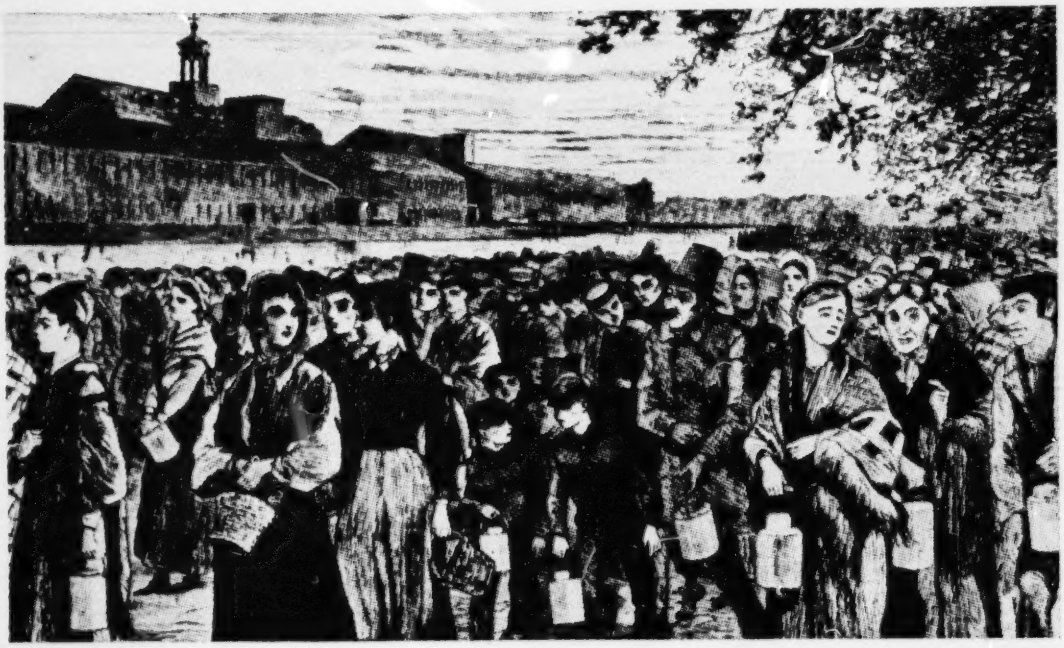
But dreams do not die easily. Labor leaders without unions to lead fled west. Some of them settled in utopian socialist "phalanxes" like Ripon, Wis., where they began making plans to form an even more liberal and idealistic political party.

Labor editor George Henry Evans suggested the name of "The Great Republican Party of Progress." And former New York labor leader Alvin E. Bovay issued the call for the formation of the G.O.P. in Ripon. For a brief period of time, it looked as if the Labor Party of old had risen again.



The public school system as we know it today owes its origin largely to the vigorous agitation of America's first labor movement.

How Many Kinds of Slavery?



THOUSANDS of men, women and children are shown pouring from a Massachusetts textile mill. This engraving shows strikingly the way of life of yesterday's worker.

In 1831, a Negro preacher, Nat Turner, led a strong and brutal slave revolt. Angered slaves killed every white they could lay their hands upon. Revolts of this nature in the south illustrated the smoldering resentment and hatred of the slave doomed to a lifetime of perpetual humiliation and servility.

It was true, of course, that the slaves of a humanitarian like Jefferson Davis were treated with courtesy and respect. In fact, Davis' plantation had a court composed of the slaves themselves. The bonds between many slaves and their masters were indeed civil and even affectionate.

Yet, the fact remained that slaves had no rights and no real liberties. Slaves were forbidden to make a clamorous noise, to show disrespect for a white person, and to congregate except in church. They were whipped for resisting a white person. They had to step off the sidewalk when whites passed by. They were forbidden by law to learn to read or write.

Most cruel was the domestic slave trade which even kidnapped free Negroes and sold them into slavery. Families were auctioned off and broken up. Husbands had to leave their wives; sons and daughters their mothers. Often they were driven long miles along roads under the whip and gun.

Work in the fields was from dawn to dusk. Slaves worked under a "slave driver." If the slave ran away, bloodhounds were sometimes used to track the runaway. A slave could not testify on his or her own behalf in court, and the entire country had to join in the hunt to return the slave to the alleged master or mistress. A free Negro had no guarantee that he or she would not be taken in the hunt.

The advent of the cotton gin turned the south into a one crop, rural section based upon cheap slave labor. It was hardly a match for the rising industrial north with its diversified resources, influx of immigrants, heavy industry and growing cities. The Civil War ended chattel slavery and a way of life for the south.

But southerners pointed out that northern "wage slavery" was no better than human slavery. Indeed, they seemed to have a point.

In Massachusetts, for example, a committee of the legislature made an investigation of a textile mill: "The operatives work 13 hours a day in the summertime, and from daylight to dark in the winter," the report began.

A bell woke girl textile workers up at 4:30 a.m. At 5 a.m. they had to be at work. The girl a few minutes late was punished. Breakfast was at 7 a.m. and lunch at noon. At 7 p.m. they were finished with work. The exhausted girls flopped into bed in their dormitories. They slept two in a bed.

CHILD LABOR was universal in New England spinning mills. Protected by law, employers worked boys and girls to exhaustion.

There were three double beds in each room.

The legislative investigators could not long stand remaining in the factory. The heat and the lint from the spindles and looms created an overwhelmingly oppressive atmosphere. One legislator asked a girl worker why the windows were not opened?

"When the wind blew, the threads did not work so well," she replied.

Not everyone condemned the factory system. David Crockett, hero of the Whig Party, enthusiastically said that "some of the girls attend three looms; and they make from one dollar seventy-five cents to three dollars per week. Everything moves like clockwork."

A magazine called the *Lowell Offering* told girl workers that life in the factory meant "improvement both in mind and heart."

Not all factory girls were convinced. In 1848, a strange army of young women, armed with axes, marched upon a Pittsburgh plant and began chopping the gate down. A detachment of police arrived. The girls overpowered them. They tore the gates down, and forced strikebreakers inside to join them in a victory parade.

This was the Industrial Revolution where the machine began to be the master of man. One employer candidly said: "When my machines get old and useless I reject them and get new ones. These people are a part of my machinery."

And entire families worked just to keep alive. Children worked from dawn to eight in the evening.

And the slum came to America. "There are cellars devoted entirely to lodging," said a New York City report. "Where straw at two cents and a bare floor at one cent a night can be had. Black and white, men, women and children are mixed in one dirty mass."

"KNOW-NOTHINGISM"

Instead of building unions or forming political groups, workers often fought among themselves. Many native born workers joined an extremist movement called "Know-Nothingism." This was a hate campaign against immigrants. Such divisions kept workers weak.

The more farsighted joined the Republican Party which was the party of liberalism. Their candidate, Abraham Lincoln, openly sided with labor.

In New Haven Lincoln said: "I am glad to see a system of labor prevails in New England, under which laborers can strike when they want to. . . ." In Wisconsin Lincoln said flatly that "Labor is . . . superior to capital."

Democrats appealed to racial prejudice to divide and conquer: "The north will be flooded with Negroes, and the labor of the white man will be depreciated and degraded," prophesied the "New York Herald." Most northern workers, however, voted Republican, giving Lincoln the vote he needed to win.

But labor did not have the strength to keep the GOP liberal. Big Business was soon to capture this idealistic party and turn it into its slave.

"I Love This Union Cause"

"Congress had rich gifts to bestow," explained historian Vernon Louis Parrington. "A huge barbecue was spread, to which all presumably were invited. Not quite all, to be sure—inconspicuous persons, those who were at home, or on the farm or at work in the mills and offices, were overlooked . . . but all the important persons—leading bankers and promoters, and business people—received invitations."

Jay Cook entertained President Grant in his Philadelphia mansion. He did all right with Congress too. His Northern Pacific Railway received 47,360,000 acres of free land. The railway made $153,000 in land sales for every mile of track. All this was a gift of the U.S. Government.

Another "robber baron," Jay Gould, bribed the New York legislature. A biographer, Richard O'Connor, said "Gould packed a few shirts and $500,000 in two valises and set out for Albany."

The leaders of America who emerged from the Civil War were men like Cornelius "Commodore" Vanderbilt, who made money selling ancient rotting ships to the government during the war. Vanderbilt expressed a common attitude of his class when he said: "Law? What do I care about the law? Hain't I got the power?" The expression "The public be damned" is also ascribed to him.

They were men like J. P. Morgan, who sold the government obsolete and dangerous carbines. Soldiers firing the carbines had their thumbs blown off.

They were men like Jubilee Jim Fisk, who bought $800,000 worth of cotton from the Confederates to supply the Union army with blankets. He bribed officers to let his operation through the lines. Lesser men would have been shot for treason, but Fisk used the adventure as a stepping stone to greater power and wealth.

Public acceptance of the new society rested upon a folklore popularized by writers like Horatio Alger, who preached trite moralisms about poor boys going onward and upward to amass great fortunes.

And Charles Darwin's theory of evolution arrived at a propitious moment for defenders of the new industrialism and finance capitalism. An Englishman, Herbert Spencer, developed a theory called "social Darwinism," which justified man's exploitation of man.

"The poverty of the incapable," said Spencer, "the distresses that come upon the imprudent, the starvation of the idle, and those shoulderings aside of the weak by the strong, which

"I can hire one-half of the working class to kill the other half."—JAY GOULD

leave so many 'in shallows and in miseries' are the decrees of a large, far-seeing benevolence." God had decreed that the strong walk over the weak, that the poor starve and suffer and die, he believed.

Andrew Carnegie, the steel baron, said the amassing of great wealth into the hands of large corporations, and then competition among the corporations, was "best for the race, because it insures survival of the fittest in every department." The "fit" were the men of money and power.

These rough-riding capitalists looked to a Scot, Adam Smith, to give them justification for getting government subsidies without government regulation. Distorting what the poor man was really trying to say, by overlooking his denunciation of high profits and his sympathy toward labor, they used Smith's philosophy of "laissez-faire" to describe the emerging American economy.

"Every man," said Smith, "as long as as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interest his own way," for this is the system of "natural liberty."

The American public bought this foreign import and adopted the philosophy as their own.

"THE GUILDED AGE"

It was in this atmosphere that America's first great national labor leader grew into prominence. His name was William Sylvis, and he was the antithesis of all that this "Guilded Age" stood for.

Sylvis was an iron molder in eastern Pennsylvania. As a good union man, he had participated in strikes which never seemed to get workers anywhere. Also, he pondered the idea of isolated local unions trying to bargain with employers who were organizing on a national level.

America, because of the railroad revolution in transportation, was fast becoming a nation. The distance between cities became drastically shortened. Iron stoves could be sold in cities hundreds of miles away. Manufacturers now competed for national markets, and their relationships with their workers became increasingly impersonal.

Sylvis saw that if labor was ever going to be effective, workers must organize themselves into national unions. In 1860, the iron molders did indeed organize themselves into a national union, and when Canadians joined up they called it the International Molders Union.

Three years after the formation of the union, Sylvis was elected president. He immediately started an organizing tour. He had no money. He would bum train rides and food. He talked unionism to everyone he met. He once said: "I love this union cause. I hold it more dear than I do my family or my life. I am willing to devote to it all that I am or have or hope for in this world."

His incessant work in building unionism soon exhausted him. He died in poverty in 1869. At 41 he had literally given up his life for this union cause he loved.

Sylvis was a man of great dreams and visions. He was instrumental in organizing the National Labor Union in 1866. The first American labor federation did not believe in strikes, for when capitalist Jay Gould boasted: "I can hire one half of the working class to kill the other half," nobody argued with him.

Instead of strikes and similar economic action, which had kept the labor movement weak and powerless, why not control the means of production by organizing cooperative shops and factories which the workers would run themselves? And why not a labor party, a people's party of the common person to combat the two major parties, both captives of the employers and bankers?

The National Labor Union became so politically involved, it turned into the National Labor and Reform Party. By 1872, defeat had dashed it upon the rocks of a triumphant capitalism.

And the co-ops failed to get off the ground. Based upon the democratic principle of one person, one vote, they constituted a threat to the plutocratic principle —that the person with the most shares of stocks deserves the most votes. They never stood a chance in such a law-of-the-jungle environment.

While Sylvis' union may have failed, he laid permanent foundations for our present international unions; and his National Labor Union was the forerunner of the present-day AFL-CIO.

Knights, Anarchists and a Bomb

Uriah S. Stephens had studied for the Baptist ministry. He took his religion so seriously that he decided to form a labor union on Christian principles, because "labor is noble and holy," while capital "tramples poor humanity in the dust."

Only persons dealing with alcoholic beverages, lawyers, doctors and bankers were excluded from the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, an expansive union which Stephens saw as including men and women "of every craft, creed and color."

Such an ideal, like Christianity itself, had an evangelical mission to convert the world to the cause of labor, for unionism knew no national boundaries. Worker-owned cooperatives would replace tooth-and-claw competition, and industrial peace would replace class warfare. Strikes and violence were definitely out. All men and women of good will would rally under the humane slogan "An injury to one is the concern of all."

But such ideas appeared unacceptable in the America of unleashed social Darwinism, which worshipped money and power as the prevailing deities. The new men of industrial power who controlled the government called unions un-American, a menace to all they stood for; and Stephens

At the time of this convention in 1886, both Powderly and the Knights were at the height of their power. Here Frank J. Farrell, Negro delegate to the 10th Annual Convention of Knights of Labor, introduces Powderly to the enthusiastic Knights.

and his friends who formed the Knights in Philadelphia in 1869 wisely decided to begin their career underground.

Borrowing rituals from the Masons, the Odd Fellows and the Knights of Pythias, Stephens added the lustre of drama to the aura of mystery surrounding the labor organization.

A person might be walking along the sidewalk and see five stars chalked upon a fence, *****. This was the symbol the Knights used to identify themselves. Then came the mathematical message: 8 148/8000. For those in the know it meant that Local Assembly No. 8000 is meeting Aug. 1 at eight p.m.

Instead of remaining a small clandestine organization, the membership of the Knights soared under the leadership of Grand Master Workman Terence V. Powderly, who succeeded Stephens. Powderly was the greatest labor orator of his day and he was also a great social moralist.

The wage system, he believed, made society immoral with its emphasis on money. He would abolish it in favor of cooperatives; and all this would be done by educating the American public, employers included. By this time the Knights were out in the open.

Despite such unlikely beginnings, the *New York Sun* in 1885 wrote, "Five men in this country control the chief interests of 500,000 workingmen. These men compose the Executive Board of the Knights Of Labor." The anti-union *Sun* said the power of the President of the United States "is petty authority" compared to the leaders of the Knights.

One year later the Knights exceeded 700,000 members—the largest, most powerful labor union the world had ever seen. Then suddenly the Knights collapsed as if a breath of wind had knocked down this house of cards. Some historians say built-in weaknesses caused the debacle; others ascribed it to a word which struck the country tumultuously in 1886. The word was "anarchism."

In 1877, war between the railroads and their resentful workers broke out. Troops and police crushed this rebellion. Several years later, under the leadership of the Knights, workers won a stunning victory over railroad czar Jay Gould. Membership soared.

In 1886, however, the Knight's leadership called off a strike at Swift in Chicago, which strikers felt they had nearly won. The deed disgraced the union and turned labor leadership in the city over to the anarchists. This was the beginning of the end.

"ANARCHISM"

What was this explosive word "anarchism" which played so important a role in the labor movement of the time?

Thomas Jefferson stated the anarchist attitude when he said that government governs best which governs least. Fearing the dead hand of institutional bureaucrats upon the free spirit, Jefferson's pledge of eternal hostility "to every form of tyranny over the mind of man" constituted another pillar of anarchist thought.

American thinker Henry David Thoreau wrote a famous essay on civil disobedience after he went to jail for refusing to pay his poll tax, because he did not want to help finance the pro-slavery war with Mexico.

If government "requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law." The individual conscience, Thoreau said, was higher than the state. He urged passive resistance to governmental tyranny, and he had a profound effect upon Gandhi of India and America's present-day Freedom Riders.

Anarchism became a serious world-wide philosophy when Peter Kropotkin wrote a book called *Ethics* in which he devastated the social Darwinists. Cooperation in nature, he showed, was just as common as competition. Cooperation, not competition, is more natural to man. Certainly, since this be the case, the human goal should be a cooperative society without the war-producing state, which by nature is totalitarian.

Recently, scientists like the famous American psychologist A. H. Maslow have backed up Kropotkin's premise. The allure of anarchism is heightened if one believes that power corrupts men and women. How can freedom

survive in an increasing plutocracy of hoarded wealth or a governmental bureaucracy or even a big society which demands greater conformity from its members every year? Why not decentralize societies and economic units where big money, big government and big society is held in check? Anarchism saw itself as the libertarian alternative to capitalism and state socialism.

But such a lofty ideal too often breeds fanatics along with its saints. One such zealot was Michael Bakunin, who challenged Karl Marx for control of the international communist movement. Bakunin argued that Marx's "scientific socialism" would only substitute the state for the capitalist as the exploiter of workers. Expelled from communism for such heresy, Bakunin's group formed the Black International.

Probably the leading propagandist for the Black International was John Most, who came from Germany to America. He wrote a book on how to make your own bomb. Believing in "propaganda by deed," Most suggested ways of building bombs and mixing poisons right in your own home.

A fellow communist-anarchist, Albert Parsons, a Chicago labor editor, said that dynamite was the best of all methods to settle labor-management disputes. "A pound of this good stuff beats a bushel of ballots all hollow, and don't forget it."

The Black International had 3,000 members in Chicago and control of the principal city central labor body. The desperate Chicago worker was willing to follow anybody. He or she made $1.50 a day when working. The worker lived in cramped, filthy tenaments without air or light or plumbing—without even an outhouse. The worker paid landlords enormous rents which yielded them from 25 to 40 percent per annum on the value of their property.

Doctors declared the worker "dwarfed" because of near starvation diet. Desperate people turn to desperate ideas.

On May 3, 1886, strikers and strikebreakers at the McCormick Harvester Co. had a battle. Police appeared. They killed a striker.

The next evening the anarchists organized a protest meeting in Chicago's Haymarket Square. It was a peaceful gathering without really much inflammatory language. An army of police arrived. The crowd was ordered to disperse. Then, suddenly, an orange streak of light flashed across the watery sky. There was a thunderous explosion.

Police opened fire upon the crowd. There were screams and cries and shots from every direction. There were running feet and the padded thud of bodies falling upon the bricks.

The newspapers didn't count the union sympathizers killed or wounded. They did count in screeching headlines the seven police killed and the 60 wounded. They were going to make labor pay dearly for this.

To this day, nobody knows who threw the bomb. The anarchist leaders who had been on the speaking platform, and obviously could not have thrown the bomb, were arrested, tried, convicted, and four of them were hanged. No evidence was presented to connect them with the bombing.

The cartoon of the anarchist with the bomb was transferred to all of labor by the press, which largely approved of the hanging of the four labor leaders. The Knights of Labor were the great losers. From 700,000 members in 1886, they fell to 100,000 by 1890—and soon afterward into oblivion. Again it appeared American unionism was ready for burial.

On November 11, 1887, the hangman placed the noose around the neck of the anarchist labor leader August Spies. Perhaps unionism would die with him, the employers hoped. Spies cried out: "There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today."

He was right.

The Rise of the AFL

This was the blackest of all years for the American workers. In 1886 the repercussions from the Haymarket bomb were spelling doom for the powerful Knights of Labor, and a less ostentatious federation of craft unions which had been formed in 1881.

And yet, this very year, a group of hardheaded, softhearted, twofisted fighting men met in Columbus, Ohio, to bury one dying craft union federation, and to breathe life into a gasping infant they called "The American Federation of Labor." Under such circumstances, it seemed incredible that they would build the most successful labor federation the world had ever known.

They chose a cigarmaker named Samuel Gompers as the $1,000-a-year president and only full-time employe. Gompers described the first office as "ten by eight, had a door, a small window and a brick floor." It was furnished with a kitchen table and a box for a chair. Money was so scarce that Gompers often missed payment of his salary and even carfare home. His hours were early morning to midnight for "the cause of labor is no easy mistress to serve."

Samuel Gompers was an immigrant who came from London's slum-infested East End to New York's slum-infested East Side. His schooling was sparse, but luckily, working at the cigarmaker's trade, he participated in lively economic and social discussions among the workers. The workers hired a reader to read to them during their monotonous workdays where they did nothing but wrap tobacco leaves into cigars. Then they would discuss what was closest to their minds: how could the worker extricate himself or herself from this hell?

Just after the Civil War new

ideas flooded working class areas. There was Karl Marx's "scientific socialism" and his call to the workers of the world to unite. There was the older "utopian socialism" of escape to an idyllic community like New Harmony, Ind., where all property would be owned in common. There was Bakunin's communist-anarchism.

Edward Kellogg originated the idea of "Greenbackism," whereby he sought cheap credit by a system of borrowing money from the government at 1¼ percent a year. The idea swept the farm belt like a prairie fire, and it undoubtedly appealed to many workers who hated money lenders with the same ferocity as the farmer did. Greenbackism and populism, however, remained essentially part of the farmer's revolt against Wall Street.

A more laboristic idea was promoted by a Boston machinist, Ira Steward. He believed that the eight-hour day would be the cure-all for unemployment which was plaguing the nation.

Gompers and men like Peter McGuire of the Carpenters, and Adolph Strasser of the Cigarmakers were at first attracted to many of these ideas; but then they reflected, wondering whether any panacea would work. Even the eight-hour day was presented as a panacea to end all unemployment. Things just weren't that simple.

They watched previous labor organizations turn into political parties or into instruments to advance the pet nostrum of some crafty intellectual. Gompers had helped Henry George, whose idea of a single tax on land has a following to this very day, when the advanced thinker ran for mayor of New York. Yet, Gompers was aware that "our social and economic system cannot be cured by patent medicine."

What was the answer? First off, a trade union must be made up of workers and not politicians and intellectuals. Too, they must have a common unifying bond. The cord which united workers was their craft. Therefore, a craft union was the logical banner under which workers would rally.

Workers were "job conscious." They didn't care about all these isms, most of which were foreign and which were giving labor a bad name. What the worker wanted was food on the table and security on the job. "What we want," said Gompers is, "more and more, here and now."

"We have no ultimate ends," explained Adolph Strasser, head of the Cigarmaker's union. "We are fighting for immediate objects —objects that can be realized in a few years . . . we are all practical men."

All the craft unions would be brought under one big tent called

A CIGARMAKER and a carpenter were to create two of the working people's landmarks, the AFL and Labor Day. The carpenter was Peter J. McGuire (upper left) of New York who suggested setting aside the first Monday of September as Labor Day. The first observance in 1882 was celebrated with a mammoth parade in New York City. The cigarmaker was Samuel Gompers, who became labor's foremost spokesman for a third of a century. An immigrant from England, Gompers went to work at the age of 13 in a cigar factory, where he gleaned much of his early learning from the union's practice of reading aloud to workmen on the job (upper right). When the AFL (American Federation of Labor) was formally launched in 1886, Gompers was elected its first president, a post he held until his death in 1923. The cause of unionism was rising, despite such setbacks as the 1894 Pullman strikes in which the government broke a union.—UAW Education Dept.

"The American Federation of Labor" for mutual aid and defense. This would be a loosely knit federation where the autonomy of the separate affiliated unions would be jealously guarded.

The AFL operated on the principle of "voluntarism." Workers could win gains by trusting to economic action and by trusting their own action alone. Laws, like unemployment compensation and certainly the minimum wage, would weaken the union bargaining offensive.

James Duncan, Stone Cutters President and AFL Vice President explained: "If you have an eight-hour law you will see the handicap we will have in arguing with our employers for seven and one half hours a day."

But several events were going to modify this anti-political position.

In 1903, the Loewe Hat Company of Danbury, Conn., sued its employes for $240,000 in treble damages under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The homes of their employes were attached pending the outcome of the suit.

The issue at stake was a boycott used by the Hatters Union against the company for not agreeing to unionize two departments and for refusing to use the union label.

The case dragged on through the courts for years. The AFL spent nearly $100,000 on legal fees. The union lost. Workingmen and women throughout the nation were asked to donate an hour's work to save the homes of the Danbury hatters. And while the money was raised, the event showed dramatically how a law could wreck even the most effective economic action.

Another event of significance was the meeting of Andrew Furuseth, taciturn, Norwegian-born Washington lobbyist for the Seamen's Union, and Senator Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin. What they both had in common was sense of outrage over injustice.

Furuseth explained the grievances of sailors at the mercy of "crimps," who were shipping masters that kept seamen in peonage by making them stay in their boarding houses, and having them sign over their advance wages to them for room and board. Since the seaman always owed the crimp money he was a virtual prisoner.

There were harsh laws against leaving one's job; sailors were whipped for minor infractions. The seaworthiness of many a craft was questionable; and even when health and safety conditions became intolerable, the seamen could not quit.

Some laws had previously been passed that gave sailors a modicum of protection; but even these laws were difficult to enforce without a strong union, and effective unions were difficult to maintain under the heavy-handed dictatorship of the ship's captain.

LaFollette made the plight of America's seamen a cause celebre; and in 1915 Congress passed the famous LaFollette Seamen's Act, which lifted the sailor out of slavery and made him a citizen. Political action could be used to help workers in an entire industry.

Only once did the AFL officially depart from its non-partisan policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies." This was when LaFollette ran for President of the United States as a Progressive in 1924. The AFL opposed both the Republican and Democratic parties to back him, for both parties had sanctioned the use of the injunction and other anti-union measures.

Samuel Gompers died in 1924. His successor was William Green of the Mine Workers who had also served in the Ohio legislature. Under Green's administration, the AFL made impressive membership gains despite the breakoff of its Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) under Mine Workers' leader, John L. Lewis.

Growing in balance and maturity the AFL modified its poli-

The Seamen's Fight

LIFE AT SEA was for centuries bleak and hopeless. Often shanghaied into service and branded as mutinous if they struck, seamen were utterly at the mercy of their employers. Their life was aptly described by one of their legendary union leaders, Andrew Furuseth (upper left), when threatened with jail during a strike. "They cannot put me in a smaller room than I have always lived in," he said. "They cannot give me plainer food than I have always eaten. They cannot make me lonelier than I have always been." Effective organization began in 1878 with formation of the Lake Seamen's Union to be consolidated with other groups into the International Seamen's Union in 1895. Another milestone was the Seaman's Act of 1915, known as the "Magna Charta of the Sea." Among other things, it limited working hours at sea to 56 a week. Seamen were making headway. Steelworkers were not so fortunate.—UAW Education Dept.

cies to include industrial unions along with craft unions, and it began to develop a non-partisan league for political education.

Green's successor, George Meany, had been a labor lobbyist in New York, and he was well aware of the importance of legislation. Labor's future battles, he insisted, would be fought in legislative halls. Meany also sought to cleanse the labor federation of corrupt elements, and in so doing he raised his stature to the point that he was chosen to head up the merged AFL-CIO in 1955.

They Tried to Turn Men and Women Into Machines

Frederick W. Taylor went up to a Bethlehem steelworker named Schmidt and said:

"If you want to make $1.85 a day instead of $1.15 do as you are told tomorrow when a man comes around to show you what to do."

The next day a man with a stop watch told Schmidt when to work and when to rest. Under this new system of time and motion study, Schmidt loaded 47½ tons of pig iron instead of the 12½ tons he customarily loaded.

This is how "scientific management" started. Taylor said this would lead to a new era of "cooperation and efficiency" between labor and management.

Steelworkers felt the "cooperation" was all one way. Seventy percent of them earned less than $2.50 a day. They worked 10-hour or 12-hour shifts. In Buffalo, for example, a man in 1911 made $1.80 working a 12-hour shift.

In Pittsburgh, a steelworker told reporter John Fitch, "Home is just a place where I eat and sleep." Fitch said he talked to one man who had worked 36 hours consecutively.

The new efficiency saw workers pitted against each other in gangs. If a crew broke a speed record each man got a cigar.

Even sleeping was done in shifts. In Lackawanna, N.Y., "boarding bosses" rented beds, five in a room, in which one set of men would sleep by day, another set by night.

Andrew Carnegie built his fortune on cutting production costs. Labor was such a cost and the less a worker cost the better. Managers were forced into competition with managers, supervisor against supervisor, worker against worker. The workday was heavy-laden with sweat and back-breaking toil.

You couldn't complain, for U.S. Steel gave specific orders that workers could not talk about their work. One never knew who was a company spy.

In 1878, a ton of steel cost $36.52; by 1898, it was down to $12 a ton. Carnegie became a public benefactor, giving public libraries to thankful communities throughout the nation. But the steelworkers, with the 12-hour day in soot-blackened steel towns with garbage floating in open sewers, never had any time to read.

In 1892, the Homestead, Pa. plant under Henry Clay Frick decided to lower wages 22 percent. Frick informed the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers that henceforth workers would be working under a non-union system. There was nothing to do but strike.

Frick asked the Pinkerton Detective Agency to help him break the strike.

Three hundred Pinkertons on two barges started down the Monongahela River. Strikers lined the shore. Firing broke out. Pinkertons fired into a crowd which included women and children. The angered strikers tried to sink the company navy by pushing a flaming flat car into the river near the barges.

Now the battle began in earnest. It lasted 13 hours with the Pinkerton marksmen finally getting the worst of it. They surrendered. The only naval engagement in labor history ended in a victory for the strikers.

But troops now moved into town to protect hired strike-breakers. The intervention of the government on the side of the company turned the tide. The strike was lost, and it would not be until the 1930s that steelworkers would win their union.

Rubber workers met a similar fate. The speed-up hit rubber plants like a fearsome plague. As fast as men made bonus rates the rates were cut. Then "pace setters" were hired, and to make a day's wage all the other workers had to labor furiously to keep up with the pace setters.

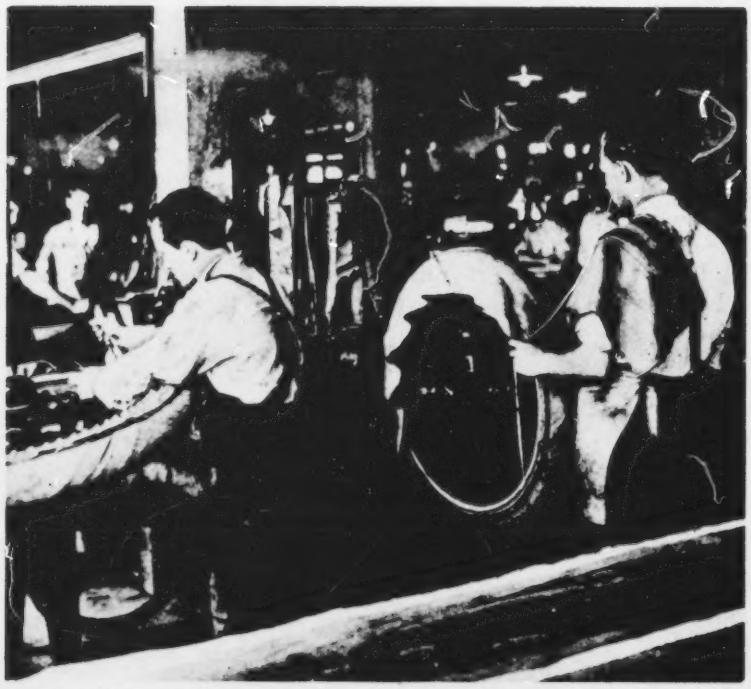
Writers Howard and Ralph Wolf described working conditions as an "era of dust and flying soapstone loading the lungs; of workers nodding drunkenly in the benzene vapors above cement tanks; of unventilated calender rooms below the street level where men withered in the heat and the skin peeled from their bodies; of hell-hole pits where the toilers yet slipped about in the wet underfoot."

In 1913, the speedup at the Akron Firestone plant became unbearable. New wage schedules would force workers to travel at the speed of pace setters to make $3 a day. Firestone tire finishers struck. Within days the strike spread throughout the company, and rubber workers from other plants helped swell the picket line.

The Industrial Workers of the World took charge of the strike, and there were hopeful parades down Main Street. But "vigilantes" armed with clubs beat the strikers into submission. A pall of fear settled uneasily upon Akron; a worker hardly dared talk, perhaps his or her neighbor was a company spy.

Things were hardly any better in the garment industry of the "sweat shop." Harry Golden described a typical work scene:

"In one room four men would sit, one or two women, a couple of young girls, ages anywhere from



THE SPEED UP and hazardous health and safety conditions caused Akron rubber workers to strike in 1913. The strike was brutally broken by club-swinging "vigilantes."

9 to 14, and perhaps an 11-year-old boy after school, and they were all working on knickerbocker or 'knee pants' as everyone called them in the tenements and in the trade.

"It was all piecework. The rate was based on the quality of the knee pants. A cheaper grade of knee pants brought a cheaper rate of pay. The average was about 75 cents per dozen for the complete operation, which would leave the family of, say, five—mother, father and children—about $15 a week.

"Many of these people wept when the industry became unionized about 1912 or 1914. They were afraid they would lose their livelihood. In such ways does poverty feed upon itself."

The union thrust in New York City was tragically climaxed by a fire at the Triangle Waist Company in 1911 which killed 146 people, mostly young girls.

The employer had bolted one door forcing the girls to leave by a narrow passageway where handbags could be examined for bits of stolen lace. And to save money, the company had skimped on safety precautions. The fire hose was rotted; the fire escape was practically valueless. As the flames whirled about the trapped girls, they became human torches as they leapt screaming to their death on the pavement below.

The Triangle fire tragedy shocked the New York legislature into appointing a Factory Investigation Commission which was to serve as an impetus to state reform legislation.

A person grew up in the system. In Maryland, the law permitted children under 12 to work in canneries. In 1905, there were 9,000 children textile workers in North Carolina. A child started work at about 10. After all, the employers argued, it kept them out of trouble. Children who worked in the mines had only an early death to look forward to.

The system exploded into a civil war in the Rocky Mountains. Americans had gone west to find freedom. Instead, many came to live in company houses in company towns.

They were paid in company script which they had to spend at the company store. Their children were taught what to think in company schools, they were married in company churches and were buried by courtesy of the company.

A worker was less than human; the worker was a work machine, and there was no way to get out from under. This was the life of a miner.

But a machine could replace the worker. Companies introduced the machine drill which could do the work of five workers. Wages were reduced to $3 a day. Workers went on strike.

Employers imported strike breakers and the miners retaliated in Gem, Idaho, by attacking the mine as an army attacks a fort. After heavy fighting the mine surrendered, and guards and strikebreakers marched out between lines of the victorious strikers.

Now troops rushed to the aid of the companies. They built "bull pens" and herded miners into them. Here the miners were tortured and starved. One union leader was chained 14 hours to a telephone pole.

Near Cripple Creek, Colorado, unionists defeated a crack cavalry troop. But after the Governor had persuaded them to put down their guns, pro-company forces invaded the town and subjected it to a reign of terror.

Soldiers forced strikers into box cars and deported them into the desert.

On April 20, 1914, Colorado state militia raked a miners' tent colony with machine-gun fire. They captured the strike leader, Louis Tikas. A lieutenant broke his rifle stock over the unionist's head. Then his men fired into the prostrate man until he was dead. The militia set fire to the camp.

Inside one of the tents, 11 children and two women huddled. Their charred, dead bodies were found afterward.

A man named John D. Rockefeller owned the strike-bound mine near a place called Ludlow. The Ludlow massacre of women and children by American soldiers took place during the start of a war which the United States would enter to make the world safe for democracy.

IN COMPLIANCE WITH LAW
The fire escape that ends in midair must be abolished.
Boardman Robinson in the New York Tribune

Gene Debs–Magnificent Rebel

"God was feeling mighty good when he created Gene Debs," said Hoosier poet James Whitcomb Riley. For Debs had "as warm a heart as ever beat betwixt here and the Judgment Seat."

Nobody was neutral toward the lanky, rich-throated idealist. President Woodrow Wilson called him "a traitor to his country." Debs had been thrown into prison for giving an anti-war and pro-union speech in Canton, Ohio. And Wilson's Attorney General Palmer had his agents arrest men of Debs' persuasion in a mammoth witch hunt against heretics.

Oh, how he was hated by those clinging insecurely to power and wealth, by the pompous, by the status-seeking, by the money-grubbing, by conservatives and by the Big Business press which ritualistically terrified their gullible readers with frantic denunciations of that "Red," that radical, that labor agitator, that strike leader who would destroy private property, the most sacred of all the icons in the temple of America.

In those days a worker was considered the property of the employer who could do with the worker what he wanted, and Gene Debs symbolized the worker's angry rebellion expressed in the slogan "human rights before property rights."

Such heresy earned the unionist prison on several occasions.

As a labor leader he said he wished to rise with the ranks, instead of above them. Proud of being called an "agitator" he reminded Americans that all social progress has been born of agitation. He felt a person could be freer behind bars, but truer to ideals than a person out of jail who betrayed his or her ideals.

Debs blazed his way into history in 1894 when the workers of the Pullman Company went out on strike.

The Rev. W. H. Cardwine agreed the workers had grievances. He described one man who "has a paycheck in his possession of two cents after he pays his rent. Another I saw the other day was for seven cents."

George M. Pullman had named a town after himself on the southern edge of Chicago; and while the company town was "dotted with parks and pretty water vistas," the brochure forgot to point out that its inhabitants lived in over-crowded tenements with but one water faucet for every five families.

When Pullman cut wages but gave an eight percent dividend to stockholders, workers protested. The company replied by firing three committeemen. It refused to negotiate. The only course of action left was the strike.

At this point, the American Railway Union led by Eugene V. Debs tried to persuade the company to settle the strike. The com-

pany wouldn't talk, and the union ordered a boycott of all Pullman cars. All over the country railroad workers rallied to the cause of the strikers. Not a Pullman car moved anywhere.

What captured the imagination of the railroad worker was a new idea called "industrial unionism." Instead of carving railroad workers up into crafts, Debs and his fellow unionists believed all workers in the industry should unite into one big union.

But the employers had not yet begun to fight. They had U.S. Attorney General Richard Olney actively on their side. Why not use the Sherman Anti-Trust Act against the railroad workers? And why not break the strike by brute force to teach all workers a lesson?

First came the special deputies called in by the federal government. Chicago's Chief of Police described them as "thugs, thieves and ex-convicts." But they did their job well by provoking a riot, and thereby providing President Cleveland with the excuse he needed to send in federal troops. The deed was done over the angry protests of Illinois Governor John Peter Altgeld, who said the state had the situation well in hand.

The courts now moved in for the coup de grace. Debs and other strike leaders were charged with conspiracy to restrain transportation and to obstruct the mails.

He had a brilliant attorney named Clarence Darrow, who subpoenaed George Pullman, announcing his intention of showing how railroad owners had conspired to destroy the union. Pullman skirted the state. Other railroad officials had convenient lapses of memory. And while this case was eventually thrown out of court, Debs was finally sent to jail for refusing to obey an injunction.

Debs had seen how both political parties did the bidding of companies. He had seen how all the might of the government was used to crush working people. "In the gleam of every bayonet and the flash of every rifle the class struggle was revealed." Even a dedicated liberal like Governor Altgeld never stood a chance against the big money interests. Gene Debs became a socialist.

Debs' socialism was actually more conservative than that of the early Christians, for the Bible says of them "they had all things in common." St. Ambrose said: "Property hath no rights." St. Jerome said: "Opulence is always the result of theft," and St. Augustine said the rich possess the goods of the poor.

"I am for socialism," said Debs, "because I am for humanity. We have been cursed with the reign of gold long enough." He argued that since 80 percent of the American people had no property to speak of, socialism would provide enough property to satisfy the needs of all.

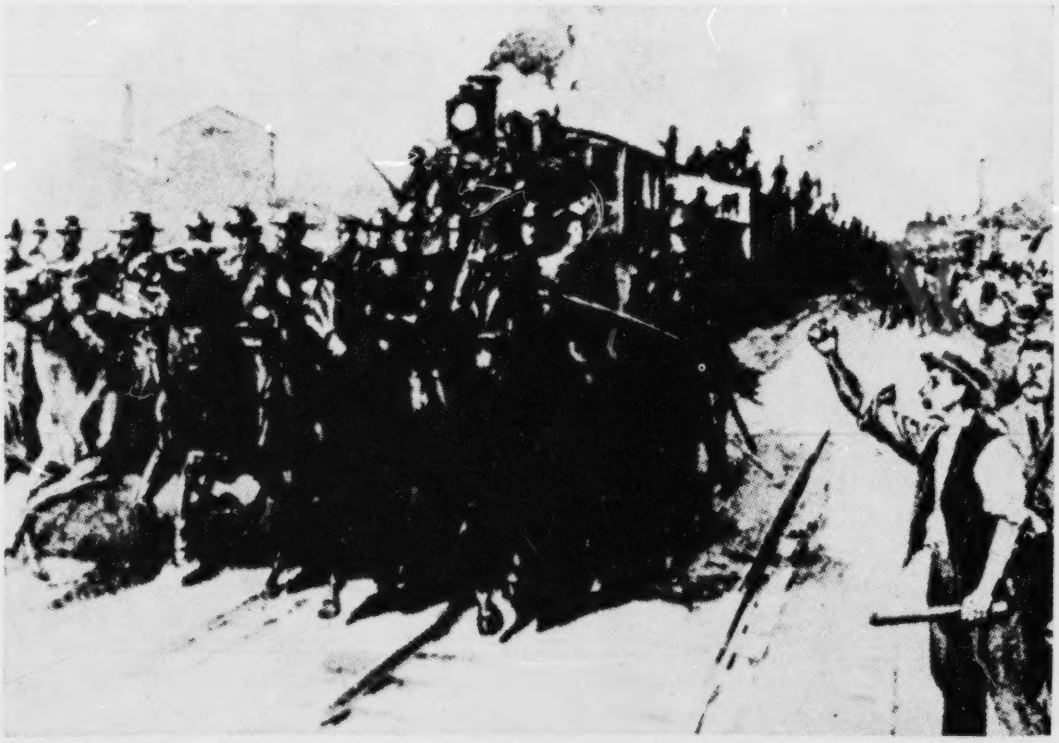
Debs stood primarily as a giant of a humanitarian who loved people so intensely that he was persecuted by them. "Years ago," he said, "I recognized my kinship with all living beings, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest on earth. I said then, and I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

He lived in an age where both state and federal governments nonchalantly threw away constitutional guarantees of free speech and free assembly to try to crush the spirit of working class revolt. He lived in an age of cruel and calloused intolerance toward immigrants, where "No Irish Need Apply," toward Negroes and Orientals and Southern Europeans and Jews, toward teachers with fresh ideas, toward labor leaders who were lynched by "vigilantes" or bayoneted by soldiers or shot or burned or tortured or beaten.

It was an age of cynical and open corruption where railroad lobbyists invaded places like the Wisconsin state legislature with "a bank roll that would choke an ox." And there would be all-night frolics on boats in Madison's beautiful Lake Mendota with wine and women to get a bill or two passed.

These were the conditions that turned people like Debs into socialists. These were the conditions that influenced nearly one

FIERY PRESIDENT—Indiana-born Gene Debs, idol of American workers, rose from locomotive fireman to trade union leader. As president of American Railway Union, he headed the railway strike of 1894.



RUNNING PICKET LINE—Under escort of U.S. Cavalry, the first meat train leaves the Chicago stockyards pressing through crowds of pickets.

million Americans to vote for him for President of the United States.

For this was an age of an awakening social conscience, when "muckrakers" like carpenter-turned-journalist Jacob Riis exposed conditions in New York's festering slums, where Frank Norris revealed the dehumanizing impact of the savage factory on packinghouse workers, where Lincoln Steffens found few cities free of corruption. His classic "Philadelphia—Corrupt and Contented" held true for nearly all American communities.

The exception was Milwaukee, where an alliance between the Wisconsin AFL and the Socialists put in a labor government in 1910. Milwaukee was to have a socialist mayor until 1960.

Journalist Lincoln Steffens was intrigued. An ignominious labor government run by business unionists in San Francisco had given labor a black eye. But here in Milwaukee, labor and socialism working together had changed this decaying corrupt lake port into a modern city beautiful. C. B. Whitnall, "the father of city planning" had turned Milwaukee into labor's showplace. The school and park system, the police and fire departments were held up as models to be emulated by all America. Mayor Emil Seidel and his assistant, poet Carl Sandburg, felt they were creating an urban revolution as indeed they were.

But why these people? Why couldn't Republicans, Democrats or pure and simple trade unionists do the same thing? Idealism, Lincoln Steffens replied. The "immanent belief in a better world to come" made Milwaukee laborites incorruptible. Vision was what the other lacked.

And what of Gene Debs? He was the prophet of industrial unionism. He insisted that labor be moral and idealistic. He saw labor as the social conscience of America.

Today over 250 organizations and individuals have given $15,000 to restoring Debs' home in Terre Haute, Ind., Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and head of the Eugene V. Debs foundation, said the home "will come to be revered like Monticello and Mount Vernon."

To Fan the Flames of Discontent

President Theodore Roosevelt called them "undesirable citizens."

Vigilantes in San Diego made them run a gauntlet of clubs. Then they burned them with sizzling branding irons.

In Lawrence, Mass., snarling police mercilessly beat their wives and children. In Akron, Ohio, they were clubbed by shrieking citizens.

In Bisbee, Ariz., 1,200 of them were herded into manure-reeking boxcars, sent into the middle of the sweltering desert, and plunked down 80 miles from the nearest food and water.

The chairman of their executive board, Frank Little, was hanged from a railroad trestle by a group of citizens.

In Chicago they were arrested. In Everett, Wash., they were greeted with gunfire.

Special "criminal syndicalist" laws were passed by states just against them.

The Judge Advocate of Colorado said "To Hell with the Constitution" as far as they were concerned.

Who were these people to stir so many to such wrath? They were union men and women, and their crime was that of trying to organize the unorganized into one big industrial union.

But what a union! The world has never seen its like before or since. For this was a marching, singing, roistering, battling, swaggering, two-fisted, lusty army of bindle-bums, of miners, of migrant workers, of lumberjacks, of rubber and textile workers, of the downtrodden Southern Negro, the spit upon, the humiliated, the cursed, the unemployed, the out of luck, the kicked around of the earth—all these constituted the Industrial Workers of the World.

They cocked their cap over an eye and shouted "Hallelujah! I'm a bum." In the tin can hobo jungles, among the sweating farm workers who toiled in the blazing sun, among the rubber workers slopping in the hell pits of the gum mines or the textile worker breathing thick lint and cramped over by fits of coughing, the IWW represented a desperate hope. At last somebody was trying to help them.

This was not a kid-gloved union, for the IWW was as rough and tumble as the wild west mining frontier in which it had been born. Big Bill Haywood, its outstanding leader, had punched his way up through the mining shafts to seek the sunlight.

But those people like Haywood, who had first rallied under the banner of the Western Federation of Miners, were herded into concentration camps. They were shot at. They were starved. They were tortured. They knew the blacklist and the "rustler's card," a card you needed to get a job, and which said over your signature that unions were criminal conspiracies.

In fact, Haywood and the president of the mining union, Charles Moyer, were kidnapped from Denver by the state of Idaho. They were accused of conspiring to blow up the former governor of the state. The man had been blown to bits by one Harry Orchard, who claimed the union leaders put him up to it. The former governor, elected with labor support, had called out the troops to crush unionism. Despite the kangaroo court atmosphere, the brilliant attorney, Clarence Darrow, and the consciences of the jury saved the accused unionists.

But kidnapping, the use of troops and similar actions by states like Idaho and Colorado, meant they were ignoring their own laws. Colorado, for example, passed an eight-hour-day law and then refused to enforce it. Too, federal troops were brought in to help employers. At times they acted with zestful brutality. And this is one reason the IWW—"Wobblies"—hated government

with the same vigor as they hated employers. The working class and the employing class had nothing in common, the IWW proclaimed. The classes were locked in mortal combat, which can only be resolved when the workers of the world organize and take over the means of production. Workers would take over the mines and mills and run them for use instead of for profit. This was the philosophy of syndicalism.

Ralph Chaplin, who wrote the world-famous labor song "Solidarity Forever," described how it felt to be a Wobbly:

"We few against the world, regardless of creed, color or nationality, united in proletarian fellowship to overthrow capitalism and usher in the 'Industrial Commonwealth'! We few against the world, united under the crimson 'One Big Union' banner to end war, injustice and exploitation—to bring peace, happiness, and security to the disinherited of the earth."

Chaplin called the spirit of the IWW the "fanatical Religion of Rebellion" where all adherents were intrepid Joan of Arcs, willing martyrs to their cause of "human rights and freedom."

Those who founded the IWW in 1905 in Chicago were a colorful lot of unorthodox rebels. There was labor saint Eugene V. Debs, there was the factitious socialist intellectual, Daniel DeLeon, there was the black-bearded Roman Catholic labor priest, Father T. J. Hagerty, there was Brewery Workers labor editor, William Trautmann, there was stormy-spirited Big Bill Haywood and there was Mother Jones, a little sweet-faced old lady of 75, clad in bonnet and lace, who went from strike to strike roaring "Give those *!*!*! hell, boys!"

The saga of the Wobblies might possibly be summed up in the life of Swedish immigrant Joe Hill.

He was a young member of the great unemployed when he rode the "sidecar Pullmans" to San Diego to help win a free speech fight. IWWs were denied freedom to speak or to assemble. In California, in Washington, in Massachusetts this is the way they were treated. But nothing could dampen their determination to win the right of freedom of speech. In 1963 American integrationists used the identical tactic to fight for Negro rights.

An IWW would mount a soapbox and urge listeners to join the union. He or she would quickly be arrested. Another would take the IWW's place. Another and another would follow until the jails were packed tightly, and the legal machinery was clogged with an endless chain of trials. Police sweatbox torture didn't break their indomitable spirit, nor did vigilantes beating them with clubs and branding them with hot irons. The Wobblies won their fight.

Joe Hill now began to write songs for the IWW's "Little Red Song Book." Its mission was to "fan the flames of discontent." They included parodies like Casey Jones who went to Hell for scabbing; or they contained the Victorian sentimentalism of the "Rebel Girl" whose dress was tattered and torn, but whose heart was pure because "she was true to her class and her kind." He assailed "long haired preachers" who were adamant foes of unions, and social reform promising instead "pie-in-the-sky-when-you-die."

Dedicated to the cause of the exploited worker, Joe Hill heard of Utah copper miners in need of aid. He set out to organize them. But soon after he arrived a grocer was shot and killed in a holdup. Partisans of Joe Hill said he was blamed for the murder solely because he was a union organizer. He was convicted and shot by a firing squad despite angry protests from an outraged world opinion.

Joe Hill said he wanted his ashes scattered everywhere throughout the world save in the state in which he was executed. "I don't want to be caught dead in Utah," he explained.

His last words were "Don't mourn for me—organize!" And this became the battle cry of the unskilled worker throughout the land.

The IWW won its greatest victory in Lawrence, Mass. The year was 1912, and Lawrence textile workers averaged a meager $8.76 a week. They lived in filth-ridden slums and faced a bleak life of malnutrition, lung trouble and continuous fatigue because of the speed-up.

Striking for a living wage and abolition of the speed-up, 14,000 textile workers were in the streets within 10 days after the first mill was struck.

A girl was killed on the picket line. Strikers swore they saw the police do it. But top IWW leaders, Joseph Ettor and Arturo Gio-

Unionists herded into sweltering Arizona desert

vannitti, were arrested and kept in jail 10 months before being brought to trial. Their case was dismissed for lack of evidence, although thousands of workers had to demonstrate in order to get the case heard. By this time the strike was won.

The Great Lawrence Strike was the high mark of the IWW. Soon all the pressure of the government, of employers, of mass media—the press and movies—was brought to bear on the Wobblies. They were arrested. They were assaulted. They were imprisoned. Special laws made their activities a crime. All this was done in the name of "patriotism" for America was entering World War I. By 1919 the back of industrial unionism had been broken. The IWW lives today a shadowy ghost of its former glory.

In an age when nobody else seemed to care about the unskilled worker, the IWW rushed to his aid. And Wobblies fought to preserve the constitutional right of free speech when other Americans held it in contempt. This highly unrespectable union gave the forgotten underdog an unexpected hope that the American dream might someday include even him or her.

'Crime' to be Unionist

The CIO Is Born

"The guys felt this was really a revolution. A lot of them were ready to die for the cause," explained John Kumpel, who was active in the first major strike of the CIO.

A V-formation of 150 Akron, Ohio, police marched upon a crowd of 5,000 union sympathizers on the chilly morning of February 25, 1936.

Faces were grim, tense. Goodyear strikers and their sympathizers—farmers, miners from West Virginia and Pennsylvania, workers from Northern Ohio plants, small businessmen and housewives—drew a line. They hoisted the American flag and told the police they were not going to pass.

"The carnival spirit of yesterday," wrote newsman Emerson Price, "had condensed into tense determination, and a turbulent stream of humanity was like a living thing with a single mind and a single purpose."

The police stopped. They were listening. A far-off siren grew louder. Now all could see the screaming police car charging up the red brick canyon of Market Street. The car screeched to a halt. The chief jumped out and told his men to disperse.

The union crowd erupted into a thunderous cheer. They lifted their leaders high upon their shoulders. Union president, John House, choked back his tears as he bobbed above joyous heads. "There's nothing that can stop us," he said.

This was how the first test of strength of an idea called "CIO" was won. Those who made the idea succeed were working people, the rank and file. For the CIO is the story of grass roots industrial workers, the men and women considered unorganizable by some top labor leaders.

The CIO's colorful leader, John L. Lewis, spoke in the Akron Armory on the eve of the Goodyear strike. He told rubber workers, "I hope you will do something for yourselves," and they did precisely that.

"Up to a few years ago, in this country, we had no labor movement . . . I consider that the CIO is the beginning of a real labor movement," remarked Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

While it is true that the Mine Workers, the Clothing Workers, the Garment Workers, the Printers and others put money and talented organizers into the great CIO crusade; and while it is true that workers did thrill to the speeches of Mine Workers' President John L. Lewis, when he castigated the corporations: "They are striking me hip and thigh . . . right merrily shall I return their blows;" and while it is importantly true that the 1935 Wagner Act of the New Deal, permitting workers to join unions, gave working people encouragement to do battle; while all this is true, the CIO is fundamentally the story of the grass roots American worker who took his own destiny into his hands and wrestled it to the ground.

"We fought for dignity," explained Goodyear strike leader, John House. He described the conditions which led to the first important CIO strike. There was favoritism. A worker never knew when he or she would be replaced by a person who could play better basketball for the company team. You had to "Red Apple," bow and scrape before your foreman. There was no seniority protection. A worker gave the best years of his or her life to the company, and was then subject to being replaced by a younger person. How was the worker's family to eat?

There was no effective way to

LABOR MASSACRED—Peaceful picketing in an organizational campaign by the Steelworkers at the Republic Steel Corp. South Chicago, Ill., plant led to a Memorial Day massacre that horrified the nation in 1937. Police gunned down more than 110 pickets, killing 10. Many were shot in the back.

right wrongs. There was no mechanism for settling complaints on the job. Only a union, workers felt, could give them a voice, pride, self-respect. "When I went to work in a factory, I hung my manhood outside the plant gate," said Detroit autoworker William Kemsley.

This is why they fought.

Sometimes the winning of the union meant heavy sacrifices. On Memorial Day, 1937, Chicago police, without warning, attacked a group of striking Republic steelworkers. A senate committee said: "Ten marchers were fatally shot. Seven received the fatal wound in the back, three on the side, none in front. . . . Thirty-three others, including one woman and three minors, received gunshot wounds . . . (police treatment) of the injured was characterized by the most callous indifference to human life and suffering. . . ." But the steelworkers began winning their union.

This was a no holds barred era of mass demonstrations, buoyant exuberance, bitter worker-employer clashes and fierce struggles to gain union recognition.

This was the era of the sit-down strike. It originated in Akron, Ohio, at the General Tire plant, June 19, 1934, when the local union president, Rex Murray, concluded that it was safer for strikers to sit down next to their machines than go outside and picket. Police might hurt the precious machines if they attacked sit-downers, he said.

Michigan auto workers developed the sitdown into a fine art. They organized a captured plant the way a city is organized. There were provisions for sanitation, food and entertainment. There were codes and there was a government. Violators of the codes were tried in "kangaroo courts." The robust nature of the UAW-CIO was developed during this lusty period when auto workers staked their future in dramatic battles against some of the mightiest corporations in the world.

SOME HISTORY OF THE UAW

UAW was born in the rank-and-file. Until all workers in the factories organized one strong solid UAW, the companies didn't differentiate between men and unions—they broke both. The bosses' opposition made battlegrounds of the plants.

Workers used sitdown strikes (upper left in picture) as one weapon to help win recognition, while the managements approached labor relations with tommy-guns, cannons and tear gas. GM workers faced these at Flint in 1937 (lower). But solidarity and determination won out. On February 11, 1937, GM recognized UAW as the legal and exclusive representative of its workers in the 17 struck plants.

Helping fight for the workers' right to have their own union were (upper right) Michigan's late Governor Frank Murphy and then-CIO President John L. Lewis.

Turning from its GM victory to combat continuing Chrysler resistance, the UAW now mobilized the full solidarity of the production workers against a company effort to break the strike with scabs. Like GM, Chrysler also saw the light.

Management, for a brief moment in 1939, thought it had to deal with an undisciplined mob. In the tool and die strike of that year, it found to its surprise that the UAW was able to concentrate the economic power now of the skilled tradesmen, now of the production workers, as circumstances demanded, and to the advantage of all workers.

In 1940, after NLRB elections confirmed the 1939 union victories, the UAW won its first paid vacations and premium differentials for the second and third shifts.

In 1941, the long drive to bring Ford to the bargaining table succeeded. This had been a campaign that all the UAW had mobilized to win. At its climax, the Ford workers, who had never had a union until UAW, emerged with the first major union shop agreement in the industry.

In 1941 as well, another important segment of the UAW—the women workers—first won their cherished demand of equal pay for equal work, while the GM workers capped their grievance machinery with an impartial umpire.

In the first post-war years of 1946-48, General Motors workers took the lead in a 113-day strike, establishing a pattern of

increased purchasing power, paid holidays, automatic cost-of-living and annual productivity increases. All these gains were duplicated on the basis of the pattern set in General Motors by other segments of the union. Chrysler tried to be different again in 1948, but a stoppage by the workers changed management's mind.

In 1949, the initiative shifted to the Ford workers in the historic drive for pensions. Chrysler workers, in 1950, confirmed the pension pattern for the industry as a whole, after a 104-day strike.

GM led the way in 1953 as the UAW succeeded in opening long-term contracts during their life, for changes made necessary by the Korean War. With production workers carrying the ball, workers in the skilled trades won a wage boost, pensions were improved, retired workers won group rates under Blue Cross and Blue Shield, and the annual productivity increase went up to 5¢ an hour. The GM pattern was bettered by Ford and Chrysler, then accepted in its improved version by GM.

In 1955, it was Ford's turn again. UAW members had made the beginning of an annual wage their next major goal. The pressure of this united demand was

felt throughout the industry, but negotiations centered on GM and Ford. (Chrysler was not in negotiations because its contract expired a few months later.) A united front of the two companies began to emerge, then collapsed as Ford became the first to accept the SUB program of supplemental unemployment benefits.

A lot of evidence had been accumulated—in the paychecks and status of UAW members—that only an international union can contend with an international corporation, let alone a cluster of corporate giants alert to the slightest impairment of labor's bargaining strength, and eager, as GM showed in 1939, to exploit any signs of division in labor's ranks.

"Battle of the Overpass"

BOSSES STILL DREAM

As 1958 bargaining got under way in a difficult economic period, UAW members knew the combination that had opened the door to unionism almost a quarter of a century before, and produced the unprecedented gains of the intervening years, was far better than any of the Taft-Hartley inspired gimmicks for separating, rather than uniting, American wage-earners.

In the education of American industrial workers, the biggest lesson of the last 20 years has been that solidarity pays off.

Industrialists, meeting each other on the boards of directors of many interlocking companies, early grasped the truth in the old axiom that in unity there is strength. The unity they found was for many years a unity of resistance to the demands of unorganized wage-earners.

Auto workers traveled a long, rough road before they learned what management already knew about unity. As early as 1908, William C. Durant combined 17

automobile companies to form General Motors. It took almost another 30 years before the workers could unite to form the UAW.

The auto workers had tried about everything. They had known the isolation of federal unions, each directly linked to federation headquarters in Washington, but separated from each other in the same auto towns—often in the same plants. They had tried government boards and agencies. They had known company unions, craft unions, and a number of independent unions that managed to collect members from one or two or three automobile plants. None of these had been able to settle the basic grievances of the workers in the shops. When the workers themselves tried to organize, the older unions ignored them.

It was only when the CIO came along, and the separation of workers gave way to the unity of all who worked in the same industry, that the auto workers, through the UAW, hit pay dirt.

FORD OLDTIMERS set up their own picketline during the 1949 UAW-Ford pension negotiations. Union negotiators pointed to them and said, "They're what the pension is all about," and the Union kept faith with its senior members.

EVERYBODY HELPED

The watershed year was 1937. In that year, the 17 companies that had found unity and power in GM a generation before, finally met their match in the united strength of the GM workers.

Behind the GM victory lay many struggles. There had been a sitdown in Fisher No. 1 in Flint, Michigan. There had been the Kelsey-Hayes strike and the Midland Steel strike in Detroit. There had been a threatening and fruitful move by Chrysler's Dodge local. There had been a victory by Bendix workers in South Bend, Indiana.

There had been other engagements preparing for the showdown with GM. GM workers in Kansas City, Atlanta, St. Louis, Cleveland and Oshawa, Ontario had challenged the high-handed methods of supervisors and foremen.

Every local, every group did its part. Skilled and unskilled and semi-skilled, old and young men and women, city slickers and farmers got into it, and stayed with it, and laid the foundations of a movement that has been going forward ever since.

It was everybody's struggle. The UAW united workers who had never organized before; it became and remained everybody's union. All the gains of the following years rested on the bedrock of that first, shrewd decision; to unite all the workers in the industry, mobilizing a power that the strongest employer would respect.

That decision paid off. In 1937 came the gain that made possible all the others—recognition of the union. It brought a new body of law into the shops, based on seniority and the grievance procedure.

That was the beginning. In 1939, came call-in pay, and time and a half after 40 hours. That same year came additional proof of the resourcefulness of the UAW's industrial union.

GM was again refusing to bargain with the union. This time the tool and die makers, striking as the new model year got under way, brought GM to heel. Because of the model change, most production workers were laid off, but they gave their wholehearted support to the tool and die workers.

In the old days, the boss liked to "bargain" with one worker at a time. This was the GM and Chrysler approach as recently as 1937, the Ford line until as late as 1941. In the Eisenhower era, the "right-to-work" hoax represented the employers' dream of returning to that earlier dominance over labor, when nobody who worked in a mass production industry was organized.

It is pretty clear that any breaking up of the hard-won unity of wage-earners would give a boost to the employer campaign to get back to the "good old days" before labor's great advances of the last quarter century.

Labor's progress has been from separation to union. At the beginning of the long road stood the lonely worker trying to hold his or her own against the huge corporation. That's where the wage-earner stood in our industries before the UAW.

Way down the road and moving forward, we find just about all workers in our industries united. The merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955 was a high point in this great trend.

Between the two poles of loneliness and solidarity, weakness and strength, there are many degrees of relative unity. We must constantly build our union so that we are at maximum strength at all times.

T-H TEMPTATION

Under the pressure of employer lobbying, tempting invitations to "go it alone" were written into the Taft-Hartley Act for the seduction of groups now under the protective mantle of the big in-

dustrial unions. Few workers have risen to the bait.

Just as the odds are against Pontiac or Oldsmobile leaving the cover of GM to go it alone as independent producers, so most workers have understood the folly of setting up small special-interest outfits in the shadow of the great corporations that most mass-production workers have to deal with.

The UAW is everybody's union. Recent constitutional changes have increased its flexibility as the agent of each of its members. Over the years, the record has been written at the bargaining table, of gain after gain in the areas of the workers' fundamental interests.

All these gains were made by concentrating the flexible strength of the union on the right point at the right time. By corporation, by industry, by region, by unit, by vocational grouping, this flexible strength was mobilized. First one group led, then another.

The union is the young workers going in and the old workers going out, and all the men and women between, in all the cities, in all the states and provinces.

The union is a memory and a vision. The memory carried forward into the vision, in an endlessly moving line of courage, of will, and of hope. It is a great union. It is a great union because it grows and grows, yet never gets too big to be human.

THE CIO— DEMOCRACY'S ARMY

Absolute corporate power over employes was now under unrelenting siege. Above all, the CIO was the great army of industrial democracy where workers demanded a say in their job lives. The 1929 stock market crash, followed by the depression, had badly shaken the faith of many Americans in the wisdom of the business community. A new day was dawning for the unskilled and semi-skilled working man and woman.

But the CIO was not without its birth pains. Formed as the "Committee for Industrial Organizations" within the AFL, it was destined for a stormy life. Traditional craft union jurisdictions were well-established. Too, the AFL idea had worked over the years, whereas the CIO idea of industrial unionism had been historically marked by failure. Was this not "dual unionism" and therefore quite unnecessary?

CIO adherents John L. Lewis, David Dubinsky, Sidney Hillman, Michael Quill, Sherman Dalrymple, Charles P. Howard, James Carey and others objected that industrial unionism was a success in mining and the garment industry. And what could be worse than, say, carving up Westinghouse or Ford or U.S. Steel or Goodrich into helpless craft unions—where if one craft went out on strike, the other crafts in the plant would break the strike because their contracts had not yet expired?

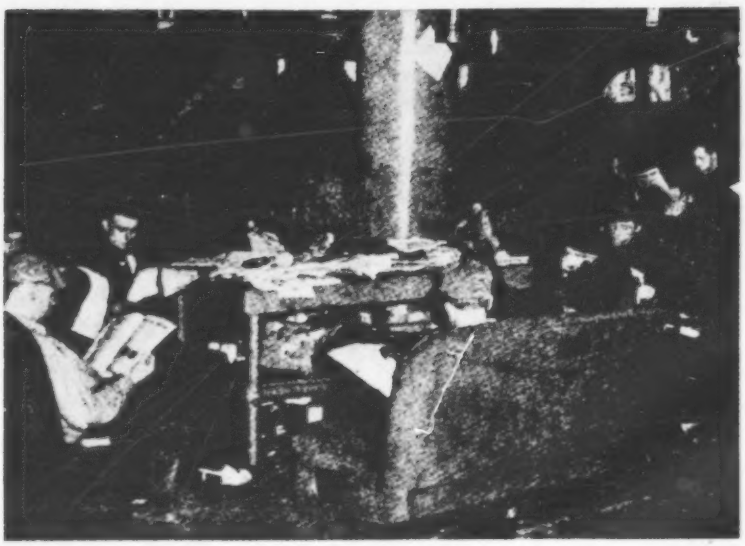
Bitterness between partisans of craft and industrial unionism caused a split, when the AFL's Denver convention gave its Executive Council the right to revoke charters of CIO unions. Many charters were revoked; and in 1938, the independent Congress of Industrial Organizations was founded.

CIO's buoyant days were short-lived because of the interruption of World War II. The CIO had modified its industrial union position by taking in a number of craft unions like the American Newspaper Guild.

In becoming a responsible institution it developed the idea of "Citizen CIO," largely a creation of Leo Perlis who sold the national labor body the concept of a Community Services Committee, for "what is good for the community is good for the CIO." Before the war less than 100 labor leaders in the land sat on health and welfare boards. By the time of the AFL-CIO merger, the number had swollen to 75,000 unionists.

Stunned by anti-union public reaction after the war, which resulted in the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, the CIO formed an aggressive Political Action Committee (PAC).

A major internal difficulty with the Communists was resolved by the expulsion of unions which followed the C. P. line. When Communist sympathizers captured control of the Wisconsin CIO, for example, they refused to support labor's stalwart friend, Sen. Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., because LaFollette had warned Americans about Russia's expansionist designs. This threw the 1946 election to a demagogue named Joseph R. McCarthy. The



Auto workers on a sitdown

CIO could ill afford such irresponsible goings on.

The successor to John L. Lewis as CIO president was a gentle but firm-spirited steelworker named Philip Murray. His big, generous heart beat stridently for an end to the steelworkers' grimy life in sooted houses upon the side of bleak and dirty hills. And his heart expanded to an identity with the plight of workers throughout the world, for now the CIO (and the AFL as well) began developing programs to aid their struggling brother and sister workers wherever they may be.

When Philip Murray died, the dynamic, idea-filled president of the UAW, Walter Reuther, became CIO president. A practical idealist of prodigious energy, Reuther talked of a new era in American industry, where intelligent discussions between labor and management would replace the brute strength decisions of the thirties. America could not afford industrial war because, "There is a revolution going on in the world. The Communists didn't start the revolution. It is a revolution of hungry men to get the wrinkles out of their empty bellies." Labor had an obligation to the whole of America and to the entire world.

In 1930, the average industrial worker might be seen in a city dump looking for bits of brass to sell to stay alive; by 1955, through the union, the worker had become a powerful force in the land.

The CIO had created a profound and lasting revolution.

Unionism Comes of Age

"Working people do not hunger for the same things they did 25 years ago," declared the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers *Union News* in 1963. The paper called for a reassessment of labor's goals from within the movement itself. What goals should modern labor have?

Several years earlier, UAW President Walter Reuther suggested labor might be suffering from lead-in-the-pants disease; that new ideas were needed to "get the rank-and-file marching again."

Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers, attempted to explore some new goals for labor in a book, *"New Horizons for Labor."*

Yes, the worker has changed in the past several decades, Beirne argued. "He is more concerned with the security of his employment, the recognition of himself as an individual, appreciation of work well done, health and so-called fringe benefits, sympathetic help with personal problems, participation." To serve the new worker there must obviously be a new unionism.

Optimistically, Beirne saw fewer strikes in the future and more responsible collective bargaining. Both labor and management were growing up.

"Service" would replace table banging as the primary function of the union. The old unionism based on job control "will be supplanted increasingly by unionism based on a recognition of social imperatives." And "collective action" will become "a method of progress rather than merely of defense." Socially responsible unions would thus replace the old job conscious unions of "more and more."

An example of the new look took place on June 20, 1963, when Steelworkers President David J. McDonald announced a major settlement brought forth jointly by a labor and management Human Relations Committee. Maturely, both parties had studied the issues as part of a long range program, and had made their recommendations. Included in the agreement was a 13-week paid vacation every five years for 243,500 Steelworkers.

In 1850, the average workweek was 70 hours; today the workweek average stands at 39 hours. The unions push for more leisure and higher wages, helped substantially to create a $40 billion leisure time industry, so dynamic that it has doubled in the last 10 years. The genius of the human mind was liberating mankind from slavery to repetitious and unsatisfying jobs. Now this same genius could be used to help mankind lead the rich, full, creative life.

But this was not to say all was well. James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, pointed out that "despite an increase of more than $80 billion in the total output of the United States, the number of workers employed in manufacturing has declined by approximately 500,000. Even more significant is the decline of 1,000,000 jobs among production and maintenance workers."

Coupled with this alarming job decline is the estimated 1,300,000 new job seekers that will be flooding the labor market each year. The spectre of unemployment began to haunt the bargaining tables.

Industry's productivity had increased at a faster rate than wages (since 1956, wages had increased by 10 percent, productivity by 18 percent). With unemployment hovering near six percent of the work force and American industry operating at only 85 percent of capacity, a number of American unions looked abroad to see why Sweden, France and West Germany had no unemployment problem. The UAW, for example, concluded that "democratic planning" of the economy had worked wonders in Western Europe, and it seemed sensible to consider the idea seriously in North America.

Why should the big industrial-

THE YEARS AHEAD—Unions such as the UAW have given the American worker the highest standard of living in the world. Now, how can it best serve his or her new needs? And how can it defend the workers' children from the threatening clouds of unemployment? These are answers that must be found.

ists be the only ones to be permitted to plan ahead in the economic realm? Corporations had become so powerful that one company, Standard Oil of New Jersey, had seven times the assets of the entire labor movement! And wealth was becoming more concentrated, according to a study made by Robert J. Lampman, a University of Wisconsin professor, who said that the wealthy one percent owned 76 percent of all corporate stock outstanding. While wealth was becoming more consolidated, there were still between 40 and 50 million Americans suffering the pangs of poverty. To create jobs, to protect American democracy, and to try to solve the problem of poverty, labor would have to look to governmental action.

George Meany, the president of the AFL-CIO, had said outright that labor's future battles would be fought in legislative halls. Meany, a down-to-earth pragmatist, had seen the power of state legislation while serving the New York AFL; as president of the national body, he had viewed a Congressional coalition of Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats, which appeared to have little sympathy with the cause of the working man and woman.

There was the matter of Congressional investigations beginning in 1957, which built an anti-union climate of public opinion, and which led to the passage of the restrictive Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959.

The trouble started when the president of the Teamsters Union, Dave Beck, was discovered to have had some curious financial dealings with individuals, one of which was a professional union buster. Beck went to jail, but his successor James R. Hoffa, was continually kept under fire. In 1957 the AFL-CIO expelled the Teamsters, the Bakery Workers and the Laundry Workers because, in Meany's words, "they were doing wrong."

Here was something new in labor history. If affiliates of a labor federation were guilty of

unethical practices they could be expelled.

Because of such practices by a handful of unions, the entire movement came under suspicion; and unionists felt they had been unfairly tried and convicted by an unsympathetic Congress and the press. This was despite the statement of Robert Kennedy, the Senate Rackets Committee counsel, that "less than one-half of one percent of the 430,000 union leaders" in America were guilty of any wrongdoing.

While Congress and the press were having a field day with several union corruptionists, there were few articles and even fewer editorials about union organizers being beaten, stabbed, shot, fire hosed, framed by kangaroo courts and subjected to restrictive local ordinances in the South.

The Senate Rackets Committee was not interested in the near-lynching of Hosiery Workers Regional Director Robert Beame, who escaped a North Carolina mob only after a wild auto chase. In Henderson, N.C., a strike of 1,000 textile workers was broken after their leaders had been framed on a bombing conspiracy charge by an agent of the State Bureau of Investigation.

By the 1960s, labor had changed from a struggling, back-to-the-wall movement to a major American institution. Many mourned the passing of the frenzied, spirited years of the 1930s, but there was no turning back. And new frontiers did exist, for what about the largely unorganized white collar worker? And what about the already organized worker, whose needs had indeed changed from that of an exploited, poverty-stricken individual to a middle class suburbanite?

The union had changed the face of working America, but what would be its future role? The more thoughtful labor students saw a sophisticated institution, ever more centralized, fighting in legislative halls for liberal causes, using community resources to provide new membership services, working out problems with management through long-range study committees, and striving through all of this to be America's social conscience.

Freedom Struggle Marks Canada's Labour History

King Louis and all the laws of France were of no avail against the coureurs de bois, "the most active and vigorous in the colony," according to a report in 1700. These were the workers in New France's only real industry, the fur trade.

In the woods they dressed and lived like Indians. Since beaver skins were the currency, they shot their money and came swaggering into town loaded down with pelts. Many grabbed a libation of eau de vie and whooped it up a bit. Others spent their money on clothes "wearing the dress of nobles." The fact that these independent-spirited woodsmen thought that they were as good as anyone else angered the persons of pomp and power.

The King passed a new edict regulating these unruly independents. Under a leader named Du Lhut, 800 young men out of the total population of 10,000 just took a walk into the woods, and refused to come out until the King and everyone else stopped trying to dictate to them. The coureurs de bois won this first organized mass walkout in North America.

A proud and independent spirit has marked the Canadian. An individualist, he could escape to the frontier when things became unbearable. This is one reason why there was no such thing as a "labour movement" until relatively late in Canadian history.

But there was another reason for unions getting a rather late start. Workers were so scarce that they sold their labour for a high price. It wasn't until waves of immigrants landed on Canadian shores that workers flooded the market and unions came into being.

The factory system now fell heavily upon the land. Grimy mills employed women and children "to the practical exclusion of adult males" because their labour was cheaper. The sweat shop imprisoned little girls who worked 60 hours a week to make 80 cents!

The need for unions was fast building up. But under a British statute of 1800 they were outlawed. Despite the prohibition, printers began organizing in the 1830s, and 40 years later there were at least 15 unions in Toronto alone.

In 1872, Toronto printers struck for a nine-hour day. Twenty-four of their leaders were arrested for criminal conspiracy, and 10,000 of their incensed fellow workers protested this outrage at a mass meeting. Already the British, the year before, had changed the law to make unions legal in Great Britain; but it took turbulent demonstrations and a parliamentary battle led by Sir John A. MacDonald, Canada's first Prime Minister, to finally give unions legal status in Canada.

In 1886, the Trades and Labour Congress was formed. Unlike the AFL in the United States, the TLC included the Knights of Labor until 1902, when it surrendered to the wishes of the craft unions and expelled the Knights for "dual unionism." One achievement of the TLC was winning Labour Day as an official holiday in 1894.

But other forces were to vie with craft unionism. One was the Catholic Church in French-speaking Canada; another was industrial unionism springing up largely in the west.

In 1900, Quebec City shoe-

makers were locked out by their employers following a strike at one plant. Employers insisted their workers sign a "yellow dog contract," an agreement never to join a union, before allowing them to come back to work.

Archbishop Begin was asked to arbitrate the dispute. Citing the Rerum Novarum of Pope Leo XIII, the Archbishop announced that workers had the right to organize. The Church then began a vigorous campaign of union organizing; and on January 1, 1922, the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labour was formed.

In the west, industrial unionists were becoming more militant. Bitterness between craft union conservatives and progressives and radicals, many of whom had received their union schooling in Great Britain, kept growing. At the TLC's 1918 Quebec convention, industrial unionists offered resolutions urging Canadians to organize "by industry instead of craft," and attacking conservative support of repressive governmental policies against non-conformists during the war.

Defeated, the westerners, led by the British Columbia Federation of Labour, formed a rival organization they named "One Big Union." Its adherents believed in direct action, the class struggle and the sympathetic and general strike.

OBU's first test of strength came in Winnipeg in 1919 when metal and building trades workers, protesting low wages in an era of soaring prices, went on strike. Employers were adamant, refusing even to recognize the union. The OBU was asked to take over the direction of the strike, which became a general strike for all Winnipeg workers after a referendum vote. Workers in Toronto and Sydney, Nova Scotia, showed their solidarity by going out on sympathetic strikes.

This was one of the most spirited strikes in history, and it was going to have deep repercussions for Canadians. Working people had just fought a war, and they returned to find themselves exploited and kicked around by those who had stayed home to make profits.

But Canadian Mounted Police came crashing into town. They beat down the hopes of the strikers. They arrested the union leaders. They broke the strike.

If the government opposed the legitimate aspirations of working people, the jailed strike leaders reasoned, then labour must change the government. Some of them ran for public office while in jail and were elected. They formed the Canadian Labour Party in 1921, and the party's leader, J. S. Woodsworth, a former Methodist minister, became leader of the socialist Cooperative Commonwealth Federation when it was founded at Regina in 1933. In 1944, the CCF, under Thomas C. Douglas, rode to victory in Saskatchewan, which soon became the showplace of social democracy in North America.

It was the Canadian Congress of Labour, however, which was to provide the broadest base of industrial unionism.

A series of federations beginning in 1903, organized primarily by the craft union-expelled Knights of Labor, led to the founding of the All Canadian Congress of Labour in 1927 under the leadership of A. R. Mosher.

South of the border the CIO explosion burst forth after the Wagner Act of 1935 was passed. The excitement of union organization filled the Canadian air as steel, auto, electrical, textile, packinghouse workers and many others needing a union attempted to mount an offensive.

The industrial union breakthrough came in 1937, when the General Motors workers in Oshawa took on both the company and a vote-hungry Premier of Ontario in an 18-day strike, which put the UAW into the plant and established the first CIO beachhead in Canada.

In 1938 the Rubber Workers won a month-long strike at the Merchants and Dominion rubber companies in Kitchener. Other industrial unions began to organize.

The internal strife which almost ripped the UAW apart in both the United States and Canada was over by 1939; and, freed from the danger of company unionism, the Auto Workers were ready to lead again. The Canadian membership, which had dropped to only a few hundred, soared to new heights in 1941 when a whirlwind campaign put the union into the 10,000-man Ford of Canada plant at Windsor. The Canadian Region of the UAW has never looked back.

General Motors, which had withheld formal recognition of the union four years earlier, followed the Ford victory by granting such recognition. In 1943, the big Chrysler plant in Windsor signed its first contract.

But the gains the labor movement had made during war-time had to be consolidated in peacetime. It took a 99-day strike by the Ford workers in Windsor in 1945-46 to win the "Rand Formula" union dues check-off, whereby all workers in a certified union's jurisdiction had to have the equivalent of dues checked off and turned over to the union, whether union members or not.

This key measure of union security having been established, industrial unionism was "here to stay" in Canada.

The All Canadian Labour Congress led to the formation of the Canadian Congress of Labour, which supported the CCF as labour's political arm. But when Canada's two great labour federations merged into the Canadian Labour Congress (in 1956), with Claude Jodoin as president, the united movement took the initiative in 1958 to ask for the formation of a new political party—which was to be broadly based, democratically governed, and geared to meet modern and pressing needs of people.

Idealistic, progressive-minded Canadians from all walks of life met to form the New Democratic Party. Although New Democrats hold only 17 seats in Parliament,

they gained over one million votes in the 1963 elections and have become the dominant political force in British Columbia. In traditionally conservative Quebec, labour's vote has soared from 21,000 in 1953 to 160,000.

Increasingly, Canadian workers will have to turn to politics for answers. Sixty percent of Canada's industry is controlled by foreigners, and one of their imports—automation—is taking its toll. Today, Canada has one of the highest unemployment rates in the world.

This automation, which cut deeply into traditional membership, has stabilized; and the movement of white collar workers into union ranks is on the rise.

In 1961, idealistic, progressive-minded Canadians from all walks of life met to form the New Democratic Party. Federally, the Party has consistently, if slowly, increased its popular vote in succeeding elections. However, the biggest gains have come provincially where, in 1975, the New Democrats form the government in British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba; and recently the NDP has supplanted the Liberal Party for second place in Onatrio, to become the official opposition.

Will future unions be more job conscious or more ideologically political? Right now the weight of the movement's leadership—the speeches, the education programs, the literature—is geared to creating a politically-conscious labour movement. This might well be a matter of survival.

AS SOON AS ANY MAN SAYS

"What does it matter to me?"

THE STATE MAY BE GIVEN UP FOR LOST

Rousseau on the citizen and the state (the social contract, 1762)

History Can Give Us a Living Philosophy of Labor

The labor movement is but an eyelash flick in history. For it is scarcely more than one hundred years old.

The Industrial Revolution first broke society asunder and then, in a slow healing process, brought to being the labor movement which fused three basic human needs into a social dynamic:

1. **The need of security and work cohesion as represented by the craft guilds.**
2. **The need of dignity secured through freedom.** This was represented by mankind's spirit of revolt against oppression.
3. **The need of social unity, brotherhood, solidarity.** The Greek slave, Aesop, told of the father who asked his sons to break a twig. They easily broke it. He commanded them to now pick up a bundle of sticks. Try as they might they could not break the bundle. In unity there is strength.

The labor movement was to gather up these fundamental human needs and fashion them into a strong and useful fabric.

Guilds existed before recorded history. They were found in China, in India, in most of the world's ancient lands. They regulated wages, hours, and working conditions. They had apprentice systems, dues, initiation fees, punishment and laws. They had social security systems and often religious ceremonies and festivals. They represented a secure and prideful way of life. Restrictive and narrow in outlook, they were natural job groupings of workers who guarded the skills of mankind throughout the centuries.

Despite usually insurmountable odds, workers did revolt against oppression. The Bible tells of the Jews under Moses going on strike against Egypt's Pharaoh. The slave Spartacus led a great rebellion against the might of Rome. Islamic rulers found victory difficult to obtain in Persia against spirited underdog fighters for social justice. (778-869 A.D.)

Following the Black Death, "Jacques Bonhomme," the French peasant, rose up to challenge the power of iron-fisted nobles in 1358. Then followed Englishmen under Wat Tyler impertinently asking aristocrats: "When Adam delved and Eve span, who then was the gentleman?" A century later German peasants fought for their freedom. They were all put to the sword—all rebels, everywhere. Many were tortured to death; but the world would never be the same again, for the idea of the equality of mankind and his or her freedom from oppression had been brought to birth. What tyrant can kill an idea?

Freedom—American workers fought for it in 1776, and French workers during their revolution. "All men are created equal." "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Such ideas had been inspired by the workers and yeomen who had died for them in previous centuries. Yet, how often were they to be betrayed! "Oh liberty," cried Manon Roland, mounting the guillotine's scaffold, "what crimes have been committed in thy name!"

In 19th century Europe people were forced into slum-diseased cities, choking and straining in stifling factories, their backs bent with toil, never knowing the playful laughter of a child or the peace of old age; these souls adrift—struggling in the turbulent ocean of industrialism—had to form a human chain for self-survival.

"Workingmen of all countries, unite!" cried Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto." "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains." It was 1848. The machine was grinding human flesh and spirit deep into its relentless gears. Desperate workers were ready to fight and die against the masters of the machine.

But the Marxists said the proletarian army needed the discipline of an elite, a dictatorship of the chosen who were the Communists. In Russia they replaced a White Czar with a Red one. They ignored liberals like Tolstoy, who advised that the real revolutions must first take place within the human heart. It was an age of the physical machine and the human machine of the iron-clad, heartless party—the Communists, the Fascists, the Nazis.

In the Americas, Mexicans rebelled against corrupt, greedy aristocrats in 1910. Peon leaders were murdered in a flood of blood. But ideas do not die; and the revolutions of yesterday are still being fought today, everywhere in the world.

There were others, though, who trod a gentler path of goodwill among mankind. Papal Encyclicals asked for social justice. The "Social Gospel" took root in Protestantism. Ghandi overcame exploitation by the foreigner with non-violence. Social Democrats in Europe and Canada, liberals in the United States, offered democratic and humanistic alternatives to Marxists.

Now a new industrial revolution has shaken the world. Machines can talk to and direct other machines. Human labor is becoming an anachronism. All previous social beliefs are begging for exhaustive scrutinization.

Can history teach us how to meet this awesome future? The labor movement grew as an answer to industrialization; and it prospered as it learned to merge the deep-rooted needs of the social security of

the guild, the solidarity of people fighting for a better world, and the need of self-respect through equality and freedom. One further element must be added to the movement: the idea of the superiority of the mind, which can overcome outdated social myths and progress-halting stupidities.

Mankind has been kept in chains as much by his or her own superstitions, lack of knowledge, and obsessive fears of voyaging into uncharted seas of thought, as by the calloused fists of human oppressors.

Think of the centuries mankind voluntarily put itself under the soul-deadening yoke of words like: "There must always be slaves to labor for their masters;" words like, "a laboring man must know his humble place or be taught it by the whip or by the headsman's axe;" words like, "this is the best of all possible worlds, and those who raise doubts about our world will be put out of it."

Today we have no excuses for such absurdities. The machine and our unions have given us leisure in which to read and to reflect. The new revolutions in globe-destroying weaponry, in the overcrowding population explosion, and of the lightening-accelerated increase of human knowledge are flashing before our eyes.

The labor movement is in the age of the specialist: the expert on pensions, insurance, unemployment benefits, safety and workmen's compensation, law, arbitration, research, public relations, politics; all their efforts increase the effectiveness of international unions. The typical union opinion leader is the shop steward, and his or her role can increase as he or she becomes more competent and better trained to restore waning vitality to a local union. Extensive labor education undertakings must be initiated. For this is where the future of labor lies. The brain has taken the place of the pounding fist.

Knowledge has become a necessity, but labor would be committing slow self-strangulation if it relied exclusively upon pure brain power. The movement must have a heart, a social conscience, and therefore a religious quality about its goals. Solidarity, the link of worker to worker, can be reaffirmed through the education mechanism. The educator should have the quality of a missionary to inspire and motivate new broad-horizoned leaders.

We have said that unions arose to satisfy fundamental human needs. But what if needs change? Where are unions then? What we must do is to put the studies of pyschologists to work for labor. A. H. Maslow, the motivational psychologist, lists five basic human needs: body needs, safety needs, love or social needs, esteem needs and a need he calls "self-actualization"—that of justifying one's existence on earth, of becoming the whole person, a spiritual need. We feel the urge to satisfy this highest need when the lower needs become satisfied.

And unionism's past victories, its very evolution is leading to an inevitable confrontation with man's higher needs. We must submerge ourselves within a great cause to fully realize ourselves. Unionism must be regarded as a noble-purposed cause dedicated to human dignity and brotherhood.

While automation is breaking up work cohesion by isolating the worker, unions can build a social cohesion outside the shop to give more sunlight to more lives. Just as the guilds meant a way of life to their adherents, unions, too, must remain a meaningful way of life for its members.

Is this a psychological interpretation of history? It is a humanistic or people-centered interpretation of man-made events. For what are economic or political or social forces without people?

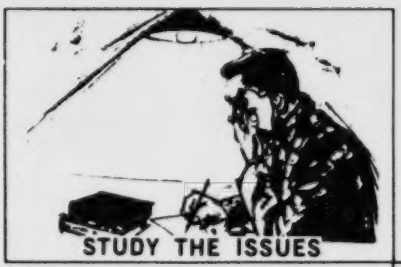
Armed with the new vitality of knowledge and refreshed with the sense of high mission, the labor movement can complete the revolution it started over a century ago; when some workers met in Philadelphia to do battle for the ten-hour day, and then quickly realized that they could not win the struggle without education.

> Education is the leading of human souls to what is best, and making what is best out of them; and these two objects are always attainable together, and by the same means. The training which makes men happiest in themselves also makes them most serviceable to others.
>
> *John Ruskin: On the Benefits of Education*

YOU
CAN HELP BUILD
A BETTER LOCAL UNION

EDUCATION BUILDS UNIONS

UAW



"If your PLAN is for one year, PLANT RICE;
For ten years, PLANT TREES;
For a hundred years, EDUCATE MEN."
Kuan Tze

THE FUNDAMENTAL FIFTEEN

Fifteen fine pamphlets and handbooks published by the UAW Education Department, which feature important facts about the UAW and aid local union leadership and membership in gaining a better understanding of their union, leadership responsibilities, and how to perform them. All are available from the UAW Purchase and Supply Department.

Pub. No.	Title and Price
4	**How to Conduct a Union Meeting**—20c per copy—$18.50 per 100—Contains a description and analysis of the rules of parliamentary procedure necessary to run a union meeting.
188	**The President's Job**—15c per copy—$13.50 per 100—Outlines the responsibilities and duties of a UAW local union president.
189	**Winning Grievances**—20c per copy—$18.50 per 100—Illustrates a winning grievance procedure, and includes information on the first-step grievance, the five W's of grievance handling, appeals, "phony" grievances, and knowing people.
204	**Effective Discussion Methods**—10c per copy—Spells out some discussion techniques and hints for discussion leaders.
300	**How to Speak at Union Meetings**—15c per copy—$13.50 per 100—This pamphlet includes sections on learning to speak, principles of effective speaking, finding out what you want to say, and preparing a speech outline.
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342	**The UAW . . . A Union That Gives Service**—10c per copy—$8.50 per 100—Details the functions and services available to the local unions from the administrative, bargaining, and service departments of the International Union, UAW.
344	**Heritage of Struggle**—20c per copy—$18.50 per 100—Presents a brief history of American labor prior to the sitdowns, and the Flint sitdown strikes which signaled the forward march of modern American labor.
356	**Your UAW Dues**—10c per copy—$8.50 per 100—Describes how UAW dues are set; how UAW dues are shared by the strike insurance fund, the local union and the International Union; and what the UAW dues do.
370	**UAW Film Catalog**—25c per copy—Lists and describes the films in the UAW Film Library which are available to UAW local unions and CAP councils.
383	**You and Your Membership in the UAW**—15c per copy—$13.50 per 100—This booklet is designed to help the member understand how the UAW operates, what the union has won, and what it seeks for the future. It is available in English and Spanish.
399	**You Are the UAW**—15c per copy—$13.50 per 100—Details the democratic safeguards guaranteed by the International Constitution to union members and leaders.
435	**Talks With Stewards**—$1 per copy—A stimulating paperback book that increases the steward/committeeperson's understanding of the workers they are privileged to represent.
436	**What Every UAW Local Union Representative Should Know About the UAW**—25c per copy—$22 per 100—This UAW "fact finder" incorporates in capsule form an encyclopedia of knowledge about the UAW. Among its contents is information about the structure of the UAW; collective bargaining goals, gains, procedures, and limitations; the role and responsibility of local union leadership in maintaining the UAW as a strong, effective and democratic union.

TO BUILD A BETTER LOCAL UNION